Daily Report

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SFRY's 'Unprecedented Anti-Bulgarian Campaign'

AU2002190890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Today in Skopje's central square, a mass anti-Bulgarian rally began. It was organized by Skopje's Socialist Alliance of the Working People. The rally is taking place under the slogan: Solidarity and support for the Macedonians in Bulgaria.

Unrestrained, extreme, and totally groundless attacks against Bulgaria are being expressed at the rally, which is yet another attempt to crudely interfere in our country's internal affairs.

During the last two weeks an unprecedented anti-Bulgarian campaign has been conducted in Yugoslavia. It is being most strongly expressed in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia and the Socialist Republic of Serbia. On dozens of posters one can read insults addressed to Aleksandur Lilov, Zhelyu Zhelev, and other Bulgarian political figures. Other posters depict geographical and political maps that include parts of our country.

At the end of the rally, appeals to the Yugoslav and world public will be adopted as well as a declaration addressed to the Bulgarian Government. Those documents are attempting to internationalize the so-called Macedonian issue and recruit the other Yugoslav republics for the anti-Bulgarian campaign.

Belgrade Correspondent on Macedonian Issue

AU2102113490

[Editorial Report] Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian on 19 February 1990 carries on pages 3 and 5, two separate commentaries by by OTECHESTVEN FRONT Belgrade correspondent Velizar Enchev, referring to the recently re-emerging Macedonian issue between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. Both commentaries accuse Yugoslavia of "acting against good-neighborly relations with Bulgaria" and of chauvinism.

In his 300-word commentary on page 3 entitled: "Step Against Good-Neighborly Relations," Enchev mentions a recent messsage from the Yugoslav parliament to the Bulgarian National Assembly, in which Bulgaria is "urged to recognize the existence of a Macedonian national minority in Bulgaria." Enchev adds that, prior to 10 November 1989, the Yugoslav side relied with great hope upon the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF] thinking that it would support the Yugoslav thesis on the Macedonian nation, but was very disappointed when the UDF leadership recently denied the existence of such a minority. According to Enchev, "as a result of this declaration, Belgrade propaganda accused the UDF of nationalism and of being in solidarity with the Communist Party."

In the same commentary Enchev refers to a recent speech delivered by Milan Pancevski, president of the League of Yugoslav Communists [LYC] Central Committee Presidium, in Pristina, in which, according to Enchev, the Yugoslav leader "accused several neighboring countries (including Bulgaria) of "genocide against national minorities."

Velizar Enchev's 400-word second dispatch from Belgrade on page 5, entitled: "Commentary is Superfluous," deals with the establishment of "a so-called Movement for All-Macedonian Action, representing a new political party." Enchev describes the "spiritual unification of all Macedonians and not only of those living on SFRY territory" as one of the main goals of this movement, and adds: "As we could have expected, the ideologists of this newly created party do not admit the existence of even one Bulgarian in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia." Enchev points out that this postulate was confirmed by a spokesman of the movement who appealed for the "territorial unification of all Macedonians living outside Yugoslavia," with special reference to Bulgaria.

Nevertheless, the author admits that Belgrade radio, in a commentary on the movement's goals, defined such claims as "nationalistic and totally opposed to the political realities in the Balkans and worldwide."

Enchev further dwells at length on a recent news conference held at the Secretariat for Foreign Affairs in Belgrade, during which the author asked Ivo Vajgl, spokesman of the Secretariat, whether Yugoslav official circles intend to "distance themselves from such territorial claims." Vajgl noncommittally replied that he could not comment on the ideas of newly established individual political groups and social organizations in Yugoslavia, after which he repeated the "well-known Yugoslav view on the minority question in neighboring countries, according to which the existence of the so-called Macedonian minority should be recognized." Velizar Enchev declared himself dissatisfied with this answer and once more insisted that the Yugoslav spokesman should categorically distance himself from "extremist appeals," to which Vajgl reacted once more by declaring his neutral stand. Enchev points out in this connection: "We should not forget that the first meeting of foreign affairs ministers from Balkan countries at which the aforementioned principle against extremism was unanimously confirmed took place precisely in Belgrade." Enchev also criticizes the Yugoslav media for having omitted his question from the detailed report on the Belgrade news conference, pointing out that this was "presumably due to a lack of space, in which case all commentary is superfluous...."

Protocol Signed With U.S. Company

AU2002122190 Sofia BTA in English 0911 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 20 (BTA)—The U.S. Mintech and the Economic Initiatives Bank (Mineralbank) signed a protocol for founding of a holding company. Subject of

its activities will be: Drawing in of private capitals; carrying of financial operations directed at the private sector, production and supply of equipment for this sector; trade, information and consulting activities.

The intentions are to set up a company which will follow the markets of Western Europe and the U.S. and offer information for Bulgarian businessmen.

Rumen Georgiev, chairmann of Mineralbank says in OTECHESTVEN FRONT that the aim is to build channels for Western capitals and establish market economy in Bulgaria, as well as build channels for export of the private sector production.

According to Mintech President Sam Trendov, the future holding-company is to promote private business and the development of industry, economy and information between the two countries. The president thinks that there are two guarantees for the success: The first is the participation of Mineralbank, the bank reliability will win the confidence of the potential future partners and the second is that in Bulgaria there are values which are "convertible" without being currency: Experts, highly qualified workforce, materials and production.

Commission Approves S. Korean Diplomatic Ties

AU1602175590 Sofia BTA in English 1722 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 16 (BTA)—The proposal of the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry to establish diplomatic relations with South Korea was approved by the Parliamentary Foreign Policy Committee.

At its session today the committee was informed on this question by Mr. Filip Ishpekov, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and adopted a decision to recommend to the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria to establish diplomatic relations with South Korea at the level of embassies.

Mr. Filip Ishpekov announced that an invitation was extended to Mr. Choe Ho-Chung, minister of foreign affairs of South Korea, to visit Bulgaria.

It was specified that these steps do not mean giving up Bulgaria's views on supporting the reunification of Korea on a peaceful, democratic and mutually acceptable basis.

Privatization of Retail, Services Firms Planned

AU1902204790 Sofia BTA in English 1857 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 19 (BTA)—The Ministry of Trade and Services will submit for discussion in the Council of Ministers a privatization scheme for retailing and services businesses, Ms Ekaterina Marinova, minister of trade and services, told a news conference here today. Under the scheme, the entire services sector, the small shops and part of the public catering establishments would be privatized, while the major public catering chains, the department stores and the other large state-owned companies would be retained and developed. The idea is to give workers a motivation for the end results of their work by placing employee shares and other forms.

Ms Ekaterina Marinova, 54, was elected minister of trade and services on February 8, 1990. She holds a university degree in chemical engineering.

Private Farming 'Legalized' by Ministers Council

AU1902214390 Sofia BTA in English 2012 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 19 (BTA)—Private farming is legalized in Bulgaria. The Decree of the Council of Ministers, submitted for publication tonight, stresses that the private enterprise in agriculture is encouraged without restrictions regarding the size of the used land.

The right to land inheritance is regulated. Private farmers are given the right to choose alone the way for production realization in the country and are enabled to export unprocessed agricultural production. In those cases they have the right to purchase at the official rating 20 per cent of the received currency.

The private initiative includes perennial crops.

The decree stresses that this year is ensured currency for import of fertilizers, preparations and technique which will be paid in leva.

The government gives its consent to found a Bank for Agrarian Credit (joint-stock company) with a headquarters in Sofia and branches in the country and abroad. This institute will have the task to offer short-term and long-term credits in local and foreign currency, to carry payments, related with the credit and economic activity and to finance the building of small farms and enterprises for processing of agricultural produce.

Workers Call Off Strike Over Belene Project

AU1602161290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Katya Chorova, our correspondent in Veliko Turnovo, has reported that, after the public announcement last night of the Council of Ministers' decision on temporarily suspending the construction of the Belene Nuclear Electric Plant until the appointed parliamentary commission reports back, the strike in the town of Svishtov was called off this morning.

With the permission of the government, a commission will be formed for public control of the fulfillment of the above decision, and in the event of violations at the site in Belene being confirmed, a strike will again be declared in Svishtov.

The public committee for the ecological and economic protection of the Svishtov region is continuing its work, and will defend the views of the local population calling

for a final halt in the construction of the second nuclear electric power plant in Bulgaria.

Relation Between Strikes, Unemployment Viewed

AU2102114490 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 19 Feb 90 p 2

[Valentin Stoev article: "From the Strike Wave to the Labor Exchange"]

[Text] While we were still singing ecstatic songs about smoking factory chimneys as symbols of overall industrialization and future social prosperity, the rest of the world had already realized that ecological laws have the same rights as economic laws. People had to understand that the balance between nuclear energy and large scale chemical industry, on the one hand, and a clean environment, on the other hand, should be observed in planning such industries.

For this reason, when the Kremikovtsi workers announced a strike and subsequently threatened that as of today, Monday, 19 February 1990, the workers protest would turn into a real and no longer symbolic strike, many people rejoiced, despite the evident economic implications. (At last we could expect some clear days for Sofia and the Sofia plain, they said. At last, our contemporary Sofia citizens would be able to enjoy the same fresh air which their grandfathers and great-grandfathers were allowed to breathe before the "dusty era" broke out, when the metallurgical industry giant widely expanded its workshops and raised its chimneys to the skies, so that it almost became a Sofia district!). Some people regard this as a confirmation of the fact that certain strikes are likely to produce a pronounced ecological effect.

Recently, Bulgaria seems to have reached a world record in the number of strikes. We may one day learn this from the Guinness Book of World Records. Along with the traditional strike requests in our country demanding a reclassification of labor and wage increases, an increasing number of requests are related to improving labor conditions and technological innovations. These claims are rather reasonable, and only people who have not visited the Kremikovtsi workshops can deny that they are justified. In this respect, we can detect an interesting touch, which is worth analyzing:

Our industry today is chaotic for many reasons, including the fact that over 30 percent of our national production equipment is outdated, and that, with a few exceptions, the technical and especially the technological origins of most production means and methods date back to the World War II period. Another and no smaller part of the technological methods and equipment is also outdated. For the same reason (technologies dating sometimes back to the first industrial era), our economic sector today is unwillingly forced to employ one third more workers than are required for the final product. (Until recently, we were not ashamed to boast of this fact as a sort of humanitarian achievement and were proud of telling people that there is no unemployment in Bulgaria. This full employment, however, was by no means the result of our philanthropy, but of our backwardness! This is an opportunity for mentioning the problems of hard physical labor, but let us set this issue aside for the time being).

So far, so good, but what is the link between technological inadequacy and the Kremikovtsi strike?

Under optimal production conditions with highly productive equipment and modern, promising technologies, the aforementioned one third of excessive manpower would be unnecessary, according to all laws of the market economy, for which we are so noisily striving, and this one third of our workers would be forced to line up in front of the labor exchange office. As much as we may have enough of this issue as a journalist's subject, we must repeat that modernization and technological innovation are the first and inevitable means of a gradual transition to the economy of market mechanisms, which actually means that many of the Kremikovtsi workers who are on strike (regardless of whether they engage in an effective, or symbolic strike) are actually potential unemployed workers—considering the fact that their plant is among the first in urgent need of technical modernization. In addition to this, the implementation of the strikers' request for modernization, itself, shall be the government's first obligation.

In this connection, we should add an analogy: Recently, Bulgarian Television showed a report from a mine in the Rhodope Mountains which was about to be closed down. The enterprise to which the mine in question belonged, on the basis of true economic laws and in accordance with its own economic interests, had decided to close down the mine which was unprofitable and to dismiss the workers after granting them several privileges which they were entitled to on the basis of the Labor Code. These were perhaps the first real unemployed workers in our country. They were the first swallows of the summer—who announced the incipient free market economy, which we are so eagerly striving for—they were the first swallows who landed on the roof of the future labor exchange. It was somewhat moving to watch, how these miners, instead of fighting for early retirement rights and higher wages, were fighting for their working places. This fact was both pathetic and significant!

I have tried in this article to disclose some of the numerous links between the present state of our economy, the strike explosion, the state resources, and certain elements of free market economy which we are increasingly mentioning. This is an objective interrelation to which we closed our eyes for many decades.

Oppositionist Zhelev Discusses Elections

AU0602143990 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 2 Feb 90 p 7

[Report on interview with Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the Union of Democratic Forces in Bulgaria, by Ryszard Bilski; place and date not given: "To Europe, But Through Our Village"]

[Text] Yesterday, Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the Union of Democratic Forces in Bulgaria, commented on the achievements of the Bulgarian roundtable, for RZECZPOSPOLITA. Today, he has agreed to give a short interview in which he presents the opinions of the Bulgarian opposition on the Bulgarian Communist Party Congress, which is nearing its end.

[Zhelev] The Union of Democratic Forces feels that the congress is a very important event. The statements that have been made at the congress are extraordinary. This includes the statements made by the leader of the party—a party that not so long ago was Stalinist. We now hear talk about pluralism, creation of a citizen's state, and political opposition as something that is normal, and even essential. This is a great step forward. Nonetheless, today this is no longer enough. We cannot agree with the communist thesis on democratic socialism. Other communist parties in Eastern Europe have freed themselves from this utopianism. The confirmation of the underlying conservatism is the fact that the party has retained its old and discredited name. The opposition considers that the dismantling of totalitarian structures will not be possible while the Communists remains in power.

[Bilski] When will the Communist Party lose power?

[Zhelev] At the moment it has nothing to fear. We are too weak and we lack leaders.

[Bilski] How do you rate your chances in the upcoming elections to the National Assembly in May?

[Zhelev] We will not win these elections. We are trying to have them moved to the fall. We will be stronger then.

[Bilski] What do you think of the suggestion of joining a provisional coalition government?

[Zhelev] This suggestion, made by the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union and approved by the Bulgarian Communist Party, is not acceptable to us. We will not participate in this government, because this would be the surest way to being compromised. We cannot assume joint responsibility for the mistakes made by the Communists.

[Bilski] Does the opposition have any alternative suggestions?

[Zhelev] Yes, we would be in favor of a government of nonparty affiliated experts, subject to the condition that the roundtable becomes the highest organ of national conciliation and can make the most important political and economic decisions.

[Bilski] Does your suggestion stand any chance of success?

[Zhelev] At the present time, none whatsoever.

'Otechestvo' Alternative Movement Declaration

AU0202124690 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 1 Feb 90 p 7

[BTA report: "31 January—Topical Chronicle]

[Text] The newly formed "Otechestvo" [Motherland] National Alternative Labor and Justice Movement has issued a declaration, in which leading workers from the fields of industry, agriculture, and the intellectual sphere are called upon to unite their efforts for Bulgaria's prosperity and for reaching the economic level and standard of living of the developed European countries.

The declaration points out that the "Otechestvo" Movement aims at struggling for greater human justice and for conducting a more realistic social policy.

Alternative Socialist Party To Support Others

AU1602140490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] A meeting was held in Sofia today between members of the initiative group for forming the Alternative Socialist Party and journalists.

It was announced that on 11 February, the day on which the declaration of the party was made, 284 people had joined it. At present about 50 to 100 people are registering every day as members. The main membership of the party consists of intellectuals from the engineering and technical fields and the humanities, industrial workers, medical workers, and journalists. In all probability, the first congress of the Alternative Socialist Party will be held between 8 and 15 March.

In the forthcoming elections, the party will take part with its own list of candidates, but will also support other candidates and individuals.

The Alternative Socialist Party makes no claims to join the national roundtable, but it will cooperate both with the radical reformist forces in the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, and the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, and with the Union of Democratic Forces.

Agrarian Parties' Branches in Varna Merge

AU1102164390 Sofia BTA in English 1540 GMT 11 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 11 (BTA)—The organizations of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) and the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) "Nikola Petkov" in the city of Varna have united.

The BZNS is one of the parties represented in Parliament. The BZNS "Nikola Petkov" is in opposition. Things now remind of the first years when the Communist Party took power. Part of the agrarians remain its partners while others go to the opposition. The BZNS "Nikola Petkov" which in 1947 was broken up, was recently rehabilitated. By coming out of the Government the BZNS responded to one of the main conditions set by its opposition kindred party for uniting.

The Sofia organization of the "official" Agrarian Party came with an address to the leadership of the two wings to unite an participate with a common list in the forthcoming free elections. The address recalls that they have the same platforms. Similar moods exist in a number of local organizations.

Leaders of the BZNS said that they will participate in the round table as a "third side" now without being an opposition to the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] or to the Union of the Democratic Forces (SDS). Some leaders of the SDS where the BZNS "Nikola Petkov" also participates assume the possibility that the SDS and the BZNS can come to coalition in the elections.

National Democratic Union Spokesman on Patriotism

AU2501212390 Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 23 Jan 90 p 2

[Interview with Ventseslav Nachev, "writer and official spokesman of the Bulgarian National Union—Champion of the Revival of Bulgarian National Pride," by Khristo Troanski; place and date not given—"Patriotism—A Source of Inspiration and Basic Element of Our Conscience"]

[Text] [Troanski] Established on 8 December 1989, the Bulgarian National Democratic Union did not attract public attention from the very beginning. Its establishment was accepted as one of the numerous sociopolitical formations that were beginning to emerge and spread like mushrooms after the rain. As soon as the program of this organization reached a wider circle of people, however, the initial curiosity was replaced by increasing interest. This results from the fact that the profound meaning of this organization cannot fail to touch the most sensitive chords of every heart that cherishes our beloved motherland, which cares for Bulgaria's past, present, and future. I attended two of the general assemblies of the organization and observed that the participants were people of different ages and from different professional circles, but they were united by their great patriotism, by the aspiration and striving to openly and honestly serve a cause whose noble goals are unquestionable. This involves a process of reviving the Bulgarian spirit and national pride, which have been suppressed and even trampled upon for a long time.

Nevertheless, let us dwell on the reasons and circumstances under which the Bulgarian National Democratic Union emerged and which prompted people like writer Ventseslav Nachev to transfer the pen to the left hand because, in times like these, words should be supported by the eloquent gestures of one's liberated right hand.

[Nachev] National nihilism prevailed in our state policy throughout many years. Many national values of the Bulgarian people were insulted and rejected through the educational system and the powerful state propaganda machine. Bulgarians were forced to renounce their nationality or to be deprived of their national individuality and faith. Any attempt to tell the historical truth and oppose nihilism was grossly repressed. The arbitary treatment of nationality problems manifested itself in constant improvisations. It inconsistently shifted from unjustified tolerance for one group of Bulgarian citizens at the expense of other groups, to sudden and unreasonable relapses into other extremes. As a result of all this, Bulgaria's international prestige was heavily affected, and the country was precipitated into a political, economic, and spiritual crisis in our society. It was precisely as a result of such unresolved problems that the prerequisites for the establishment of the Bulgarian National Democratic Union emerged. The union has assumed the task of serving the interests of our motherland, according to the existing circumstances and on the basis of democratic principles. Our main goal is to protect the rights and assets of the Bulgarian national community in Bulgaria and all over the world. For this purpose we will devote our efforts to the establishment of a unifying idea to rally workers, peasants, and members of the intelligentsia—namely all Bulgarian citizens, regardless of their ethnic affiliation, religion, and place of residence—for the sake of Bulgaria's existence and well-being as an independent and strong democratic, law-governed state.

[Troanski] The program of the Bulgarian National Democratic Union points out 13 basic guidelines for the development of the union's activities. The wording of some postulates, however, requires further clarification. Such is the case with the expression "for historical glasnost," for example. Can you explain what it means?

[Nachev] I would not like to sound excessively polemical, but I am obliged to state with painful regreat and bitter sorrow that the major portion of our country's history is an exemplary document of falsifications. Many facts of our history have been distorted, passed over in silence, or incorrectly interpreted. This is an opportunity to point out that Todor Zhivkov's authoritarian decisions on the nationality issue were by no means accidental. They were based on historical roots and stemmed from the shortcomings and delusions of the Communist Party, from the misunderstood and untruthful internationalism that prevailed over so many years. Let us recall that as early as the Second Expanded Plenum of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee in 1929 the following resolution was adopted: "The party wholeheartedly supports the claims for independent Macedonia, independent Thracia, and Dobrudzha." Was this written by Bulgarians? What would have happened to Bulgaria had such "bright dreams" come really true? The statement of this unfortunate plenum that

"Bulgaria had enslaved the nationalities of Pirin Macedonia and the Rhodopes" was really shocking.

Let us cite another example from a more recent epoch: In 1946-48 a pogrom that can be called unprecedented in world history was committed against the Bulgarian population in Pirin Macedonia by coercive, anti-democratic methods. This population was denationalized by its own state. Thousands of Bulgarians preferred to rot in prisons and concentration camps rather than renounce their national self-awareness.... No, Todor Zhivkov is not the only one responsible. He was nothing but the sucessor and further promoter of a dangerous, anti-national policy.

[Troanski] You are talking about the so-called "blank spots" in history. Is the Bulgarian National Democratic Union capable of filling these blanks with truthful facts, so as to provide a correct interpretation of historical events?

[Nachev] Numerous historians whose reputation is not soiled by the falsifications of the Zhivkov regime are members of our union. We definitely think that Bulgarian history should be entirely rewritten. New people, young people, whose ideals are firmly based on sound, scientific, and democratic, national positions, should be entrusted with this task. History should be based on facts and scientific concepts, and not on the decrees and postulates of a certain ideology. We should stop caring for ideology and devote ourselves to ideas.

[Troanski] How should we understand the union's "struggle for the obligatory, official use of the Bulgarian language and for its purity?" Would this not involve the risk of descending into nationalism?

[Nachev] The Bulgarian National Democratic Union resolutely opposes nationalism in any form whatsoever. Nevertheless, we cannot remain inactive while our national traditions fall apart. Their revival is likely to benefit the new era and would contribute to the preservation of the Bulgarian citizens' national and personal identity. As a Bulgarian citizen, our citizen is obliged to speak the language of our state. We agree that everyone should speak his native language in everyday life. However, as in every other civilized country, the state language should be the only official language spoken in public places and on the occasion of public events. This applies to public institutions, shops, schools, and others. This is the case in France and Great Britain. Ethnic groups and minorities also exist in those countries, but France is the state of the French nation, where the French spirit and the French language are established. The same should apply to Bulgaria. It is precisely as the state of the Bulgarian nation and spirit that we shall be equal to the states of the future pan-European home toward which we are proceeding.

[Troanski] On the occasion of the BCP Central Committee decision adopted on 29 December 1989, the Bulgarian National Democratic Union published a declaration that described the aforementioned act as "a first real step along the path of establishing a democratic and law-governed Bulgarian state." Nevertheless, the declaration was never published in full. Is there any passage in it that you consider to be of permanent value, worthy of being published even at a later stage?

[Nachev] In its declaration, the Bulgarian National Democratic Union insisted that the future Bulgarian coalition government should develop and release its own nationality program, and submit it to nationwide discussion. We also adopted a similar appeal to the BCP, urging the party to engage in a detailed and open-minded reassessment of its policy on the nationality issue. Along with this, we insisted that reliable and legal guarantees should be provided for those Bulgarian Turkish-speaking and Muslim citizens who wish to preserve their Bulgarian and Christian names. The solving of these problems should by no means be postponed.

[Troanski] Let me ask you one last question: Who is entitled to be a member of the Bulgarian National Democratic Union?

[Nachev] Every Bulgarian citizen who approves our program, all official and informal associations, and organizations that have submitted a written statement confirming that they are ready to contribute to the implementation of this program are entitled to apply for membership. As many as 15 such organizations have already become members of our union, and dozens of affiliated societies have been established in various towns all over the country. In the near future we hope to begin publishing a monthly information bulletin.

Withdrawal Pact Expected During USSR Visit

LD2102100990 Prague CTK in English 0635 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] Washington Feb 21 (CTK correspondents)—Czechoslovakia hopes that the discussions with the Soviet Union on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia will be successfully concluded before or during the forthcoming visit of President Vaclav Havel to the Soviet Union. Press spokesman for the president Michael Zantovskiy said at a briefing here today.

The Czechoslovak side was interested in the American evaluation of the situation in central and Eastern Europe. In this connection President Havel stressed that Czechoslovakia wants to maintain friendly and equal relations with the Soviet Union.

The Czechoslovak and American Presidents discussed in the White House numerous proposals for the expansion of cooperation, e.g. in the struggle against criminality and extradition of criminals. They also dealt with the possibility of American technical and program assistance in the foundation of new Czechoslovak television programs.

The presidents are believed to meet for another unplanned discussion today which proves the good course of their talks, Michael Zantovsky stressed.

Havel Appoints New Envoy to USSR

LD2102055990 Prague CTK in English 1712 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 19 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel has named Rudolf Slansky Czechoslovak ambassador to the Soviet Union and recalled Jindrich Rehorek from the post.

The new ambassador is son of former general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Rudolf Slansky, who was executed in 1952 during Stalinist trials in Czechoslovakia.

Dienstbier Discusses Relations With USSR

LD2002215590 Prague CTK in English 2030 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow Feb 20 (CTK)—"I believe that the firmness of Czechoslovak-Soviet relations depends directly on their voluntariness", Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier said in his interview for the Soviet weekly EKHO PLANETY here.

Czechoslovakia seeks mutually most advantageous relations and will fulfill and observe all duties resulting from agreements between the two states, Jiri Dienstbier said. However, many of them will have to be reviewed and harmonized with the principally new international situation. It is necessary to evaluate the consequences of the military invasion of Czechoslovakia on August 21, 1968, e.g. the invalid agreement on temporary deployment of Soviet forces on Czechoslovak territory, to be able to build the Czechoslovak-Soviet relations on mutual confidence. "At the same time, in my opinion, Czechoslovak and Soviet policies are closer to each other than ever during the past 20 years", Jiri Dienstbier pointed out.

Commenting on potential existence of hostile moods towards the USSR in Czechoslovakia, the Czechoslovak foreign minister stated that this question is not to be the point as regards Czechoslovakia. In this connection he pointed out that anti-Soviet moods in Czechoslovakia were closely linked to the Stalin-Brezhnev policy. Gorbachev was cordially welcomed in Prague. Czechs and Slovaks observe carefully the new home and foreign policies of the USSR. They know that Mikhail Gorbachev's policy was a support for democratic changes in Eastern Europe, including Czechoslovakia, Jiri Dienstbier continued, adding: "Our nations have understood that democracy can be reached only in a democratic way, in peace conditions, that is by keeping friendly relations with nations of other countries".

Plans Made To Reduce Trade With USSR

AU2002095190 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 20 Feb 90 p 19

[APA report: "CSSR Reduces Trade With USSR"]

[Text] Prague—The CSSR intends to strongly reduce the superiority of the Soviet Union in the two countries' foreign trade, and cut down this year's USSR trade share from the current 61 percent to 55 percent. In addition, the transition to a market economy and, ultimately, to the convertibility of the koruna is to be achieved via various trade policy measures without inflationary shocks and mass unemployment. This was stated by CSSR State Bank President Josef Tosowsky in an interview with the Austrian Press Agency, APA.

The interest rate of banks is to be raised considerably. Offically, the annual inflation rate amounts to 1.5 percent; however, in reality it is at least three to four percent, so that the four percent interest rate for savings corresponds to the inflation rate.

Prospects of Soviet Oil Supplies Discussed

AU1802181190

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 15 February on pages 1 and 4 carries a 700-word Pavel Paral article entitled: "Are Oil Supplies to Czechoslovakia Guaranteed?" Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 15 February on page 5 carries a 600-word Vladimir Matejovsky article entitled: "Difficulties with Approaches." Both articles consider the prospects of continued Soviet oil supplies to Czechoslovakia in connection with the recent announcement that supplies in the first quarter of 1990 would be cut.

At the outset of his RUDE PRAVO article, Paral says that the USSR would supply to Czechoslovakia only 18 percent of the agreed annual quota of oil in the first quarter of the year, which accounts for a "tense situation

in many enterprises," and has forced Czechoslovakia to "purchase and borrow oil in neighboring countries." He emphasizes, however, that because the Soviet Union is a reliable supplier, "it is to be expected" that it will honor the previously signed contract for the supply of 16.6 million tonnes in 1990, which would allow Czechoslovakia to return the "borrowed" oil later this year.

Paral goes on to raise the question of future Soviet oil deliveries. He says that until now Soviet oil deliveries used to be fixed in long-term trade agreements comprising entire five-year periods, which were then detailed in annual protocols. From now on, he continues, "documents of a tentative nature [orientacniho charakteru] should be concluded instead of long-term trade agreements. The Soviet side proposes that about 40 percent of the trade volume be agreed upon in a binding way in an intergovernmental agreement. Work on such an agreement is currently in progress. The existing draft agreement proceeds from figures that the Soviet side submitted last year. Under this draft, annual oil supplies in 1991-95 should range between 15 and 16 million tonnes."

This decline, Paral explains, is caused by problems with oil production in the Soviet Union and is connected with the "unrest in Azerbaijan and Armenia where two-thirds of Soviet oil industry equipment is manufactured," and with the fact that "according to latest information, Soviet oil industry enterprises have not accepted the 1990 oil production plan, which provides for an output of approximately 600 million tonnes."

Paral stresses that in order to secure a sufficient quantity of oil from the USSR, Czechoslovakia will have to offer "enough goods in which the Soviet side is interested," which concerns mainly consumer goods. In this connection, he mentions that the purchase of oil on the "world market" would be problematic for Czechoslovakia, not only because of transport problems, but also because "converted to world prices, the [annual] quantity of oil imported from the USSR is equivalent to about one-half of present Czechoslovak exports to countries with freely convertible currencies."

The Matejovsky MLADA FRONTA article deals with differences between the Czechoslovak and Soviet approaches toward the transition to world prices in mutual trade. While the Soviet Union favors a rapid transition to world prices, "realizing that, above all, the price of its crude oil would not suffer much," Czechoslovakia advocates a "phased" introduction of world prices since "Czechoslovak engineering exports, as an equivalent value, would suffer greatly." Matejovsky continues: "Although, in contrast to Soviet crude oil, Czechoslovak exports are not up to the world standard, the Soviet Union needs them nonetheless. The fact is that the transition to world prices is an abstract idea to a certain extent. Neither we nor the USSR can afford a different trading partner. Both countries lack the most important thing—a convertible currency or considerable foreign exchange reserves. The USSR is short of hard currency and it could only obtain it by redirecting parts of its oil exports to the West. However, the total of its oil exports to the East European countries represents such a huge figure that the oil market would be severely shaken. This is why the idea of Czechoslovakia's unilateral dependence on the USSR must be replaced by the idea of relying upon each other—if one partner is suddenly shaken, the other one will have problems avoiding a fall." Matejovsky therefore predicts that "in the short term the USSR will remain Czechoslovakia's monopoly supplier of raw materials and fuels."

Soviet Independence Movement Plans Prague Meeting

LD1402231490 Prague CTK in English 1621 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 14 (CTK)—A meeting of the newly established organization "democracy and independence", which is made up of representatives of ten national-democratic movements that strive to gain independence of the Soviet republics, will take place here in June, representative of the independent national-democratic movement of Armenia Paruyr Hayrikyan said today.

At a press conference of the Civic Forum here today, Paruyr Hayrikyan said that the meeting will take place thanks to the understanding and support of Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel. Czechoslovakia has not been chosen by chance as a venue. Its peaceful way towards democracy has become a model for many nations, he said.

Asked how he evaluates Mikhail Gorbachev as a politician, Paruyr Hayrikyan replied: "I do not separate Gorbachev from the system that he represents. No one of us who would get into the leadership of this system could be good. His best qualities would be misused".

"Gorbachev is not a creator of history but succumbs to the needs of historical development. When we consider all well we find out that all his positive steps are not his initiative but are enforced from the low ranks", Paruyr Hayrikyan said.

He spoke of the way of pushing forward party pluralism in the Soviet Union. "Compared with Stalin, it naturally looks wonderful but on the other hand, if we speak about the human rights, I do not forget the fact that it was under Gorbachev when the basic right to life was violated. Mass pogroms were under Gorbachev, which is easily being forgotten in the West. I think that we do not need Gorbachev but democracy and freedom," he stressed.

Pope Accepts Invitation To Visit 22 Apr

LD2002155990 Prague CTK in English 1310 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Prague/Vatican City Feb 29 (CTK)—"I accept the invitation of the Czechoslovak president and you, Father Cardinal, with great pleasure", Pope John Paul II wrote in his letter to Archbishop of Prague Frantisek Cardinal Tomasek in which he responds to the invitation to visit Czechoslovakia.

The pope said that when the celebrations of the 1100th anniversary of Saint Apostles Cyril and Methodius took place at Velehrad, he could not attend them and added that as the situation in Czechoslovakia has changed considerably he will pay a visit to Velehrad on April 22.

The pope further wrote that though his visit is planned only for one day, he hopes to make short stops-over in Prague after the arrival, and in Bratislava before leaving for Rome.

Agreement Projects Cooperation With Quebec

LD2002075990 Prague CTK in English 0730 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Toronto Feb 20 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa and Deputy Premier Vladimir Dlouhy spent the second day of their visit to Canada yesterday by talks with Canadian partners in the province of Quebec.

During these talks, Marian Calfa signed an extensive agreement specifying the main directions of future cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Quebec, e.g. in the power industry, ecology, education, agriculture, culture and sports. A concrete program will be worked out by a special group set up for this purpose.

The Czechoslovak premier also visited in Quebec the Kruger paper works in Trois Riviere where he discussed the import of five to eight tonnes of paper Czechoslovakia will need especially for its forthcoming preelection campaign.

Slovak Premier on Tasks Confronting Government

LD2102100890 Prague CTK in English 1405 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Bratislava, Feb 20 (CTK)—Nationality questions, conversion of special arms productions in Central Slovenia, problems of personnel changes in enterprises and institutions and legislative issues are the main tasks currently dealt with by the Slovak Government, Slovak Premier Milan Cic told newsmen here Tuesday [20 February].

"We consider pushing through the original powers of the two republics, the Czech and the Slovak, of prior importance in order to avert certain centralistic pressures", Milan Cic said. "Nevertheless, we claim unanimously that we want to live in a joint state of Czechs and Slovaks. We want a good federation, not a separation", he stressed.

"We want to solve also problems concerning the relations between Slovaks and members of the Hungarian and Russian-Ukrainian national minorities on a just basis, on the of humanism and democracy. [no closing quote as received]

In connection with the conversion of special arms productions in the heavy engineering works in Martin, Central Slovakia, which represent up to 50 per cent of the works' overall production, Milan Cic said that possibilities of substitute production of e.g. cars or buldozers exist including offers for cooperation from the West.

Freedom Party CC Adopts Action Program

LD2002193490 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] The participants at today's session of the Freedom Party's Central Committee adopted the party's action program, which states that the Freedom Party's objective is to build a free, democratic, humanitarian and socially just state, promote guarantees against the abuse of political and economic power, and protect the interests of free people.

The participants also adopted the Freedom Party's standpoint on the way in which Federal Assembly bills are drawn up, in which they call for a thorough-going change in the existing practices that are based on a distorted understanding of the Czechoslovak Federation.

Social Justice Party Founded

LD2002155790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] A new party, the Czechoslovak Party for Social Justice, wants to defend the interests of the broadest possible sections of the population. It will campaign for thoroughgoing laws on environmental protection in order to halt the catastrophically worsening state of the whole of our population and the further devastation of the environment. Its demands also concern the health service, social welfare, and education. In the economic field, it will campaign for the introduction of the market economy with all forms of enterprises operating in free competition.

Social Democratic Party Details Outlined

LD2002144490 Prague CTK in English 1228 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 20 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party maintains contacts with practically all social democratic parties in Western Europe as well as those emerging now in Eastern (?Europe), the first deputy chairman of the party told a news conference here today.

Rudolf Battek pointed out the participation of Czechoslovak Social Democrats in the recent congress of the West German Social Democratic Party in Berlin and in the congress of the Union of Social Democratic parties associating these parties in the framework of the European communities.

Asked about the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party's relation to the Socialist International, Rudolf Battek said that as early as in 1978, Czechoslovak Social Democrats set up a group called "Independent Socialists" and established contacts with the Socialist International. Also cooperating with this group were Czechoslovak Social Democrats living abroad.

Other participants in the press conference pointed out Czechoslovak Social Democrats' close contacts with honorary chairman of the West German Social Democratic Party Willy Brandt and chairman of the party Hans-Jochen Vogel.

The Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party is the (?oldest) political party in Czechoslovakia. It was founded in 1878 and in 1948 was forcefully merged with the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. It resumed its activity as an independent party on November 19, 1989 and was officially registered by the Czech Interior Ministry on February 9, 1990.

Civic Forum Spokeswoman Explains Structure

AU1802200390 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Feb 90 p 8

[Report on interview with Jana Ryslinkova, press spokesman for the Coordinating Center of the Civic Forum, by Dalibor Macha in Prague; date not given: "On the Operation of the Coordinating Center"]

[Excerpts] Many of us are still unclear about the structure of the Civic Forum [OF] and confuse various names of the bodies of this movement, especially at the central level. I went to the "Spalicek" building at Jungmann Square in Prague to ask Jana Ryslinkova, press spokesman for the OF Coordinating Center, about the operation of the OF head office in Prague, professional and voluntary elements in its work, the financing of its operations, etc. Jana Ryslinkova has been in her post for only a few days. She is a graduate mathematician, with the title of doctor of natural sciences in front of her name and the rank of candidate of sciences behind it. [passage omitted]

[Macha] Does the OF maintain professional staff?

[Ryslinkova] The OF Coordinating Center reimburses the salaries of several people who have taken unpaid leave from their jobs. Here in the central office, the OF pays salaries to an estimated 80 people. Many people, especially experts, work here voluntarily while being employed elsewhere. Jan Urban and Ivan Fisera, for example, two leading representatives of the OF Coordinating Center, receive no pay.

[Macha] What are the salaries of your employees?

[Ryslinkova] They are divided into four categories: the highest salary is approximately 5,500 Czechoslovak korunas [Kcs] and the lowest about Kcs2,500. [passage omitted]

[Macha] What am I supposed to visualize under the term Coordinating Center? Is it something like a central committee?

[Ryslinkova] First of all, it is not a committee. The people who work here have not been selected or elected. The Coordinating Center is not even an organization; in a certain sense it is an institution. It is a place from which [the activities of] local and district OFs are being coordinated....

[Macha] It may be due to oversight on my part, but I do not remember having ever read the complete composition of the Council of the OF Coordinating Center.

[Ryslinkova] I will give it to you. This list was approved by the Assembly of the OF Coordinating Center on 6 January: Rudolf Battek (political commission); Vaclav Benda (political commission); Ivan Fisera (council secretariat); Ivan M. Havel, Zdenek Jicinsky, Ladislav Kantor, and Zdenek Kotrly (deputy secretary of the council); Jiri Krizan (special group); Petr Kucera and Ladislav Lis (in charge of liaison with the strike committees); Pavel Murasko (commission for nationalities); Martin Palous (foreign affairs commission); Radim Palous (education commission); Simon Panek (students' representative); Jana Petrova, Petr Pithart, and Petr Pospichal (information floor) [informacni poschodi]; Zdenek Rajnis (initiatives); Karel Srp and Pavel Suchy (economist); Jaroslav Sabata and Jan Stern Jr. (organizing commission); Karel Stindl and Miroslav Tyl (agriculture); Petr Uhl (information floor); Jan Urban (administrative director); Ales Vancura (workers' representative); Josef Vavrousek (program commission); Sasa Vondra (special group); and Michael Zantovsky.

[Macha] Excuse me. I interrupted you as you were explaining to me the tasks of the Coordinating Center. Let us return to its structure in greater detail.

[Ryslinkova] Furthermore, the Prague Coordinating Center represents the OF at talks with central bodies. It carries out this activity through the medium of specialized commissions, such as commissions for information, organizational matter, political, foreign, and nationality affairs, etc. In addition, administrative activity is provided for by specialized subdivisions such as the economic department, the financial department, the wages department, etc.

[Macha] Does anyone watch over the activity of the OF Coordinating Center?

[Ryslinkova] Between individual assemblies, the activity of the OF Coordinating Center is steered by the council, which is elected by the assembly. The council has about 25 members.

[Macha] What does the assembly do? The word reminds me of a similar word—congress.

[Ryslinkova] The assembly is composed of representatives of regions (about three from each region), representatives of the council, and representatives of individual commissions. The assembly is, in fact, something like the executive body of the OFs and the supreme body of the OF Coordinating Center.

[Macha] How often does the assembly meet and how many people attend it?

[Ryslinkova] It meets every two weeks and about 80 people were present at the last one. [passage omitted]

[Macha] Judging from the statutes published in the periodical FORUM, the council is purely a Prague affair.

[Ryslinkova] Until recently, it consisted of Prague members only, with the exception of Mr. Sabata who used to come here from Brno. Only on 8 February did representatives of individual Czech and Moravian regions become members of the council. [passage omitted]

[Macha] Following the appointment of Petr Pithart to the post of Czech premier, the OF Coordinating Center does not have a principal representative. Who is at the head of the movement now?

[Ryslinkova] For the time being it is a trio—Kucera, Fisera, and I. Havel.

[Macha] Will one of them become the chief of the OF?

[Ryslinkova] This question remains open until the assembly makes a decision. [passage omitted]

[Macha] I would like to know your opinion, as a representative of the OF, on the financing of political parties. [passage omitted] What do you think about the possibility of receiving financial contributions from abroad?

[Ryslinkova] We ourselves—and we are not a political party—have received promises of considerable support from abroad, mainly from Czechoslovak emigres and other Czechs living abroad. So far we have received only a negligible sum, however.

[Macha] May I ask how much?

[Ryslinkova] Only about 20,000 German marks. During November and December, the OF also received donations in Czechoslovak korunas. [passage omitted] Furthermore, negotiations are under way on setting up an OF Foundation. The financing of political activities from its funds will be banned, however, which also applies to the Charter 77 Foundation.

[Macha] Where is the borderline between a political and a nonpolitical undertaking?

[Ryslinkova] It will not be possible, for example, to finance the election campaign from these funds.

[Macha] The OF Statutes cite as one of the sources of income "proceeds from the OF's own activities." What activities are these?

[Ryslinkova] Sale of posters, T-shirts, buttons, badges with the OF symbol, and publishing activity, for example. We expect our weekly FORUM to bring handsome profits.

[Macha] Do you have any property?

[Ryslinkova] The headquarters here in the "Spalicek" house are rented, just as the house in Snemovni Street. Most of the other property has been leased; only a small part of it belongs to us.

[Macha] Thank you for the interview.

Ostrava Civic Forum Criticizes Autonomy Campaign

LD2002141190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] The regional Civic Forum coordination center in Ostrava is of the opinion that among the movements that are complicating Czechoslovakia's political life is the striving to achieve autonomy for Moravia and Silesia and a triple-federative setup of the state. In their statement, they stress that the path toward achieving equal status does not lie in the formation of new administrative centers and in a further multiplication of the administrative-bureaucratic apparatus but in a development of regional cultural, scientific and other institutions within the framework of a democratically organized Czech and Czechoslovak Republic.

National Front Official Views Future

AU1802201190 Prague PRACE in Czech 14 Feb 90 pp 1, 3

[Report on interview with engineer Josef Krejci, "entrusted with steering the work of the National Front apparatus," by PRACE correspondent "kjk"; place and date not given: "Taking a New Path"]

[Text] Not even the Central Committee of the CSSR National Front [NF], one of the main pillars of our political system, was able to resist (how could it, anyway) the strong winds of change in our political system that were unleashed by the events after 17 November 1989. The operation of the plenum and Presidium of the NF Central Committee was terminated by an agreement of representatives of political parties and social organizations a few days ago. Engineer Josef Krejci was entrusted with steering the work of the NF apparatus. That is exactly the person whom we asked about the prospects of the NF:

[Krejci] The agreement to terminate the operation of the plenum and Presidium of the NF Central Committee represents a measure at the federal level only. All the obligations of those bodies are transferred to the Assembly of Political Parties and Social Organizations of Czechoslovakia.... Based on this fact, I believe that the NF has its raison d'etre also in the future. According to the constitutional law of 29 November 1989, the NF continues to be the political expression of the alliance of nations and nationalities, social strata, groups of interest, etc. At the same time it fulfills a number of functions ensuing from previous laws, or from the laws passed by the Federal Assembly in recent weeks. Let us mention here, for example, the tasks that we must ensure in replacing and complementing the ranks of deputies to the National Committees, etc.

This unequivocally determines the "life expectancy" and mission of the NF, especially at the local level where it must serve as a platform for mutual understanding of political forces and for exploring the ways toward a democratic and humanistic society.

[PRACE] Is there a concrete idea as to what role the NF should play in the June elections?

[Krejci] This question has already been discussed at the level of experts of key political forces. The idea so far is that the NF could exploit its experience, first of all, in the organizational matters of the free elections while using the existing NF apparatus. From a number of suggestions that have been put forward in this regard, I will cite, inter alia, the following: our help in propagating the free elections; advisory service to the citizens; organizing opinion polls at the start and in the course of the pre-electoral campaign; the provision of technical and organizational conditions necessary for the agenda of electoral commissions; or help to new political parties, groups, or independent candidates who do not have the necessary organizational background for holding a pre-electoral campaign.... In short, our effort will be to help that the pre-electoral period and the election be really democratic and free.

[PRACE] What will happen to the vast NF Central Committee apparatus?

[Krejci] It will be reduced and organizationally reconstructed in such a way that it might fulfill the role of a service center for political parties, social organizations, and the like. Out intent is to offer services also on a commercial basis, for example, in organizing congresses, conferences, etc. We also consider the possibility of setting up a housing construction cooperative, etc.... All of this, however, will be first considered in the broad body of the Assembly of Representatives of Political Parties and Social Organizations, which will finally decide about the concrete realization of individual suggestions.

[PRACE] Those are the intentions of the center, however. What from all this does, or does not, apply to the lower bodies of the NF at the local level?

[Krejci] In the entire structure of the NF, the principle of democratic centralism is not applied, that is, the resolution of one body of the NF is not binding for all its elements. It is necessary, therefore, for NF committees at all levels to ponder their own further existence and the raison d'etre of their activity and to take measures that will be based on the specific conditions of the pertinent committee.... I think that it is a sovereign right of every NF component to decide upon its own conception of further activity. It is necessary, however, to respect the basic principles that have begun to be applied in the NF since 3 December 1989 and in which the character of the NF is being changed, that is, first of all, the elimination of the constitutional article on the leading role of the Communist Party that deformed, in fact, the activity of all the NF bodies. At the same time, I would recommend that each NF committee consider, first of all, how to create a broad platform for dialogue with all the interested parties, with everyone who strives for the development of democracy and pluralism in our country.

TV Statement on 14 Feb 'Incorrect Report'

LD2002232790 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Esteemed television viewers, as is now generally known, an incorrect report on the session of the federal government was broadcast on 14 February on the Television News.

This took place at an exceptionally tense moment when a period of floods of misinformation, spread for many weeks inside the enterprise and outside, had culminated within Czechoslovak Television. The confused report, if it had not been denied soon afterward, could have had a highly unfavorable influence on the nervousness that was already rife among employees of Czechoslovak Television, and, within the circumstances that had arisen, could even have caused a destructive reaction on the part of radical forces.

The broadcasting of a report so dangerous, given the state of the enterprise at the time, was the act of two Television News editors. These employees formulated their report entirely on their own initiative, and, despite the fact that they were aware of current conditions and had a duty to consider the risk in the consequences of their report, they made no attempt to consult Czechoslovak Television management or their immediate superior. They appeared on a live program in a way which they had exclusively decided, and in this way they addressed millions of fellow citizens. Among other things, this was also a gross violation of the basic principles that an employee of any institution must respect in his relations with the employer: That is, that he must not damage his own enterprise as a result of his actions.

In a written statement on this affair that had been requested, both editors on 15 February confirmed that they were not aware of any error and in further live broadcasts they intend to continue to act according to the same principles that they implemented on 14 February. They insisted on these standpoints—which are extremely hazardous and absolutely unacceptable to Czechoslovak television management—during a meeting on 16 February that took place in the presence of the Television News chief editor. When looking for a solution, a proposal was made to implement a three-month period during which both employees of Czechoslovak Television would attempt to come to a deeper understanding of the measure of their joint responsibility toward the enterprises and to understand the rules of so-called live broadcasting. In these three months, they would be fully concerned with editorial work and would appear on the screen only in prerecorded items. It was agreed that a definitive decision would be adopted on 19 February. This offer was unequivocally accepted by both editors.

However, the daily PRACE on 17 February carried another grossly misleading standpoint of both editors, which had the proven motive of stimulating passions at any cost and was in complete conflict with the agreement reached at the meeting adjourned to 19 February. As was shown later, this was the beginning of another round of battle, this time in front of the public, another attempt at manipulating the public, with a single result—a quick solution to the internal problems of Czechoslovak Television was once again delayed and dramatically complicated. The developments culminated on 19 February. Neither of the editors attended the meeting during the day and this internal affair could not be closed. Editor Hrabovsky even left for a one-week private holiday in Great Britain on 18 February.

This behavior, which is absolutely irreconcilable with the basic duties of an employee of any enterprise, will finally be solved by Czechoslovak Television management and the new trade union organization during the next week.

Despite the fact that already on 18 February parts of the press were given comprehensive and factual information, some papers continue reporting unobjectively and maliciously on this affair, publishing half-truths and not mentioning decisive facts. They not only present a strange understanding of the freedom that has finally been achieved, but by stimulating a hysterical campaign, they are working to further delay the time when employees will be able to concentrate on creative and meaningful work in Czechoslovak Television.

Czechoslovak Television management, together with the trade union organization, are fully responsible for the present and future state of Czechoslovak Television. Naturally, part of this absolute responsibility is the opportunity and duty of dealing with discipline, order and overall climate in workplaces. Solutions to these issues are sought with the knowledge of all, often extremely complicated, facts and camouflage, the true depths of which anyone else outside the enterprise cannot be comprehensively informed. If he cannot be fully informed—and he really cannot—no one should judge on the basis of partial information.

In this sense, therefore, Czechoslovak Television management absolutely refuses to comment in the future on any unprofessional press campaign, and it reserves the right—a right normally available to any institution on the territorty of the state—to professionally solve internal problems within its own enterprise without destructive external interference.

Atomic Commission Demands Greenpeace Apology

LD2102102190 Prague CTK in English 0145 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 20 (CTK)—The ignoring of the official standpoint of the chairman of the Czechoslovak Atomic Energy Commission as a central body of the country's state administration is a belittlement of its position. Chairman of the Commission Stanislav Havel said in his statement for CTK.

The statement deals with the propaganda action of Greenpeace Movement supporters who have been distributing posters in Czechoslovakia on an alleged creation of a joint commission of Greenpeace and the Czechoslovak Atomic Energy Commission for the removal of shortcomings in Czechoslovak nuclear power plants.

"I ask categorically supporters of the Greenpeace Movement to stop this posters action, immediately remove the posters and publish an apology with an explanation in the Czechoslovak mass media" the statement said.

Public Meeting Hears About 1948 Putsch

LD1902230890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] [Announcer] Direct participants in the Communist putsch in 1948 met in Prague late this afternoon to give their testimony at a public meeting about the events of February of that year. Alena Millerova reports:

[Millerova] The meeting here in the Congressional Palace Central Hall was convened by the Dr. Milada Horakova Club, which was thus fulfilling one of its six most important tasks as set by its members the constituent meeting of 13 January this year. The task is to deepen historical knowledge, thus filling in blank spots in our modern history and thereby contributing to the resolution of issues in public and cultural practice, both now and in the future, says the Club's document.

February 1948 ranks undoubtedly among the blank spots, or perhaps to be more precise among those which have been one-sidedly and inaccurately described. One of those hundreds of people who have gathered here today to give their previously surpressed testimonies on the February events of 1948 is Dr. Vladimir (Solc), chairman of the Dr. Milada Horakova Club. Why did events develop as they did?

[Begin (Solc) recording] The entire preparation of the February events was of course the preparation of violence, the preparation of terror, which culminated after February in the gallows and thousands of years of imprisonment for the entire democratic front of Czechoslovakia, but above all, for the Czechoslovak National Socialists, because that party was at that time the sole alternative for Czech and Slovak citizens to the ideas and views of the Communist Party. [end recording]

[Millerova] I only wish to add the information that this meeting is not the last one to be held to mark the anniversary of the February events. For instance, the National Socialist Youth Clubs are preparing a march through Prague on 25 February. The Dr. Milada Horakova Club itself is to organize larger actions every month, and those of you who are interested in the Club's activities can read about it in SVOBODNE SLOVO. [Dr. Milada Horakova was executed in 1950 in one of the

very first political trials held in Czechoslovakia following the Communist coup in 1948]

Pezlar Testifies on Bratislava Intervention

LD1902224190 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Ludovit Pezlar, former member of the Presidium and secretary of the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Central Committee, testified today before the commission of deputies of the Slovak National Council watching over the investigation of the intervention against a gathering of believers by members of the National Security Corps on 25 March 1988.

He admitted a certain share of political responsibility, but stressed that he does not feel any personal responsibility. He denied that in connection with the believers' action any kind of a political commission was set up and he does not even know about the relations of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee or the CPSL Central Committee to this matter.

Ludovit Pezlar was the last from scores of persons who for two months have been explaining to the commission circumstances of the intervention against the gathering of believers in Bratislava. Many testimonies are contradictory and are in variance with the objectively established facts, and this only makes the work of the commission more difficult when drafting the final report. It would like to submit it at the next session of the Slovak National Council.

Caller Charges Havel With 'Incitement'

AU1802195190 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Feb 90 p 2

["Transcript" of telephone call from J. Pelech, Prague; date not given: "A Reader Has Called Us...."]

[Text] In the radio news, I heard Mr. Vaclav Havel's speech made at Chomutov on 12 February. It has provoked my great indignation and utter disagreement.

It is almost astonishing how much intolerance, wrath, bias, and incitement this man—who says that he wants to build on the Masaryk tradition of humanism and raise the status of the presidential office, and who claims to be a democrat and consistently above party politics—managed to squeeze into a statement of only a few minutes.

President Havel's speech in North Bohemia certainly did not contribute to easing political tension. Quite the reverse; as a consequence, it could whip up further ominous political passions. Mr. Havel seems to have temporarily forgotten that he is the president. The radio did not rebroadcast the president's speech and television did not broadcast it at all.

We are about to hold elections. Should the election campaign be marked by the tone of Havel's speech on 12 February, we would probably move very far away from high cultural standards and humanism in the political contest for voters' trust. The election campaign could then degenerate into a series of unrestrained political manhunts. And that is something that perhaps even Mr. President Havel does not want.

Economic, Monetary Union Talks Open

LD2002102390 Hamburg DPA in German 0956 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Excerpts] East Berlin (DPA)—The first round of talks of the German-German commission for economic and monetary union began with a brief conversation between Horst Koehler, secretary of state at the Federal Finance Ministry, and GDR Minister Walter Romberg today. "We are facing a tough task; a lot of technical questions have to be solved," Social Democratic Party Minister Romberg said before the start of the talks at the premises of the GDR Council of Ministers in East Berlin. [passage omitted]

The FRG side is represented, along with Koehler, by Bundesbank Vice President Helmut Schlesinger and State Secretaries Dieter von Wuerzen (Federal Economics Ministry) and Bernhard Jagoda (Labor and Social Affairs). The GDR side, in addition to Romberg, is represented by Minister Karl Gruenheid, chairman of the economic committee; Finances and Prices Minister Walter Siegert; and Staatsbank chief Horst Kaminsky.

The setting up of the joint economic and monetary commission was arranged during GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow's visit to Bonn last week.

Social Issues Stressed

LD2002125790 Hamburg DPA in German 1129 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Excerpts] East Berlin (DPA)—In an economic and monetary union with the Federal Republic, the social questions linked with this are important, above all, for the GDR. The head of the GDR delegation, Minister without portfolio Walter Romberg (Social Democratic Party), emphasized this at the start of the intra-German commission for an economic and monetary union, which started its work today in East Berlin. "We are in agreement that we wish to work very rapidly," the secretary of state in the Federal Finance Ministry, Horst Koehler, said after a preliminary private talk with Romberg. The commission was agreed on during the visit by GDR Premier Hans Modrow to Bonn last week. It is to negotiate concrete steps for economic and monetary union with the introduction of the Deutsche mark in the GDR.

GDR Minister Romberg stressed the social aspect, "for in this country there are many people who would like to have clear answers on this." For the moment, it is a question of talking about what a monetary union means and how the prerequisites for this step have to appear. "Hard work faces us, and there are a lot of practical questions to be resolved."

Koehler stated that at the beginning of the negotiations a stock-taking with concrete data is necessary in order to be able to resolve the difficult questions that must be addressed. However, a timetable will only be produced during the talks. Deputy Federal Bank head Helmut Schlesinger did not wish to say anything about the course of the negotiations, for which confidentiality had been agreed. "Experts do not comment."

After the half-hour talks between Koehler and Romberg, the whole group of experts met. [passage omitted]

The GDR Government expects a monetary union by the end of the year but rejects it before the People's Chamber election on 18 March. Prior to this, it is calling for agreement on an economic alliance and a social charter that secures pensions, savings, wages, and insurance after the change of currency.

Working Groups Organized

LD2002183890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1702 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Four working groups were established in the first round of talks held by the GDR-FRG experts' commission on monetary union and economic community. They will discuss monetary union, economic reform, finance, and social security.

A press release states that the commission will concentrate on carrying out preliminary work on the preconditions, conditions, and consequences of a monetary union and economic community of the two German states by 18 March. The necessary decisions following that date will be left up to the two German governments.

Economist on Possibility of Early Monetary Union

OW2102100590 Tokyo KYODO in English 0824 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] East Berlin, Feb. 21 KYODO—The chief of an East German gorvernmental think tank said Wednesday there is a good possibility that a monetary union with West Germany will be formed much earlier than generally expected.

Helmut Richter, head of the newly established Institute for Corporate Management, told KYODO NEWS SERVICE that the current negotiations over the monetary union between the two Germanys may bear fruit in the next few months.

Richter also said East Germany aims to achieve economic parity with its capitalist brother in five years at the earlest and in 10 years at the latest after attaining the union.

He proposed setting a transition period before the complete union during which both the East German and West German marks are to be used in East Germany.

It might be better if the use of the East German currency is also allowed to pay such public fees as rent and electricity, he said.

Richter emphasized the importance of nurturing small- and medium-sized companies for a recovery of the East German economy.

He said the large state-run industrial complexes should be divided into many small units that should be encouraged to compete.

He singled out general consumer goods, electric appliances and industrial machinery as key industrial fields for revitalizing the economy.

The think tank was established in January this year by the new government led by Hans Modrow as the principal advisory organization for the republic's economic policy.

It has been engaged in drawing up the government's economic reform programs, and has great clout in government decision-making.

Gysi Discusses Unity, Currency Union

AU2002131490 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Feb 90 p 3

[Statements by Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS) Chairman Gregor Gysi "at the start of the PDS election campaign" in Berlin on 13 February]

[Text]

Unity

I am surprised that the other parties are always talking about unity, but nobody says what form it should actually take. We have to realize that reforms and changes are not only necessary in the GDR, but, of course, also in the FRG. And in this respect we have to make demands at last. Second, this can only be a process covering a relatively long period because the states are simply too unequal—economically, politically, morally, and culturally. Third, the Germans do not live in a vacuum. There are neighboring states and peoples, there are the Allies, and there is a European peace process into which everything has to be integrated.

Currency Union

To say no will also be difficult for me if I take it easy and say: Boy, you will earn West German marks starting tommorrow. But this means that every GDR enterprise would be exposed to the FRG's direct competition. We are now able to figure out that after three weeks the majority of the GDR enterprises would have to be closed down. Then it would be simply impossible to sell a GDR television set. The same is also true for thousands of other products. That is to say, we would have an enormous number of unemployed people very soon.

Market Economy

Various ownership forms can be introduced on the market. Of course, a large share of the property of the people, the state, and the cooperatives also guarantees more social opportunities. In any case we want to prevent social cuts.

NATO

The whole of Germany as part of NATO is inconceivable. This would shift the balance of power. And now the following becomes apparent: If I understood the statements by Mr. Kohl and others correctly, a unified Germany has not only been a matter close to his heart, but really the most important thing. But how do you know that NATO is not even more important. At least nobody has said so far that he would be prepared to renounce NATO for German unity, while it is, of course, a matter of course that we will renounce the Warsaw Pact as we are expected to renounce the whole of the GDR. I am in favor of radical disarmament. In this respect, the Germans should take the first steps, not the last ones.

Party Property

Distribution to other parties will be complicated. Now there is a Social Democratic Party of Germany and a Communist Party of Germany. For all I know, after two weeks a party that is called Real Social Democrats and then one that calls itself The Real Communists might be established. And we would always share our property. Then nothing would remain of us. Some might desire this, but we will not do this. Every party that is newly founded must also see to its own start. The transfer of our property did not only meet with the approval of the members, but is was important for a new beginning.

Alliances

All other parties and movements have said that they will not form an alliance with the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS]. We have to note and respect this. We do not have the right to be offended. This is connected with our history. Everywhere where there is a consensus, we are prepared to join in. We stretch out our hands and we will see who will take them and when. The times of election campaigns must not be confused with times of realistic policy.

Restrictive Clause

The distribution of the mandate to the various areas results in a mad restrictive clause. For example, 13 candidates can be elected in Suhl. This means that 6.5 percent of the votes are needed for a candidate. Now the PDS is struggling for election regulations that guarantee that every vote will count. Every party and movement that gets 0.25 percent of the votes in the GDR should also send a deputy to the People's Chamber.

Modrow Discusses Reparation Payment

AU2002080590 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 15 Feb 90 p 1

[ADN/DM report: "Calculations of a Historian"]

[Excerpt] Bonn—Prime Minister Hans Modrow and historian Arno Peters from Bremen as well as other

leading economic experts from the FRG discussed nearly inconceivable sums involving hundreds of billions of Deutsche marks [DM] on 14 February.

The scientist from Bremen made a name for himself with a "plan for reparation payments" submitted in Bonn and Berlin as early as in 1964. The plan furnished proof that already at that point the FRG owed the GDR compensation payments amounting to DM80 billion for reparation payments made by the GDR—also for the FRG.

At the end of November 1989, Mr. Peters presented an updated plan for reparation payments, which showed that the FRG Government now owes the GDR DM727 billion—including interest and compound interest. [passage omitted]

17th People's Chamber Session Opens

LD2002124690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1203 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The focal point of the 17th People's Chamber session that began in Berlin early this afternoon is the elections in just four weeks. At the beginning of the two-day session, Premier Modrow is giving a statement on the meeting with Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl a week ago. The debate of all parliamentary groups on the German question will then be on the agenda at the beginning of the discussions on 21 February.

On the first day, the draft laws for changes and supplements to the Constitution and on the elections to the People's Chamber will be discussed, both of them in their second reading. In addition, there will be resolutions from the parliament on the electoral regulations and the formation of the Electoral Commission. After the debate on 21 February, the provisional law on parties and other political organizations, in its first reading, as well as the law on associations, in its second reading, will be dealt with. The deputies will discuss in their first reading the drafts for the Trade Union Law and the Cooperative Farm Law, which will then be put up for public discussion.

In addition, the agenda for the second day of discussions includes a law to change the Constitution in connection with the decree about civilian service, as well as answering questions on the national economy, which were posed at the 15th People's Chamber session and which are still open.

The draft bills were previously been discussed in the responsible parliamentary commissions.

Civilian Service Law Passes

LD2002193390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1713 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In Berlin today, the GDR People's Chamber approved a law amending Article 23 of the Constitution that places civilian service on an equal footing with compulsory military service. This provides the constitutional requirements for the implementation of the Council of Ministers' directive on civilian service. Minister of Labor and Wages Hannelore Mensch stressed in explanation of the law that the directive on civilian service is valid until a legal resolution is passed by the future parliament. The directive meets the expectations of those young men who are to be conscripted in March and who wish to perform civilian service.

The minister referred to the fact that the GDR, with the directive on civilian service, is one of the almost 30 countries that are implementing the UN resolution on human rights on this point. She emphasized the social character of the civilian service, which is to be carried out exclusively in the health and social sector. It is an equal alternative to the military service and has an equal moral value. This also applies to the length of the service, which is in both cases a year. The mature citizen can opt for civilian service without examination of conscience. Now it is important to make jobs swiftly available for those performing civilian service. As experience shows, there is great need within society.

Electoral Law Passes

LD2002175190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1425 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The electoral law for the GDR parliamentary elections on 18 March and the accompanying election regulations were adopted by the People's Chamber in Berlin today with an overwhelming majority. Twenty-nine deputies voted against the draft law and 30 abstained. Eight voted against the election regulations and 10 abstained. A majority of deputies voted for participation in the People's Chamber election of GDR citizens on official business abroad.

Dr. Paul Eberle (LDP) [Liberal Democratic Party], chairman of the temporary committee for drafting the new electoral law, said at the start of the second reading of the bill that there will be 15 electoral districts for the People's Chamber election on 18 March. The votes will be counted centrally and the 400 seats allotted in accordance with the resulting share of votes. Every citizen with a valid polling card can cast his vote at any polling station. This will guarantee the legitimate rights of vacationers, patients, students, members of the National People's Army, and transport workers. He pointed out compromises, shortcomings, and gaps in the law due to the early election date. The law will thus be valid only for 18 March 1990.

Citizens of the Sorb nationality are to stand for election through the lists of the parties and movements. Political organizations standing for election must take this into consideration, Eberle said, so that the Sorb nationality continues to be represented in parliament.

He said a blocking clause in the draft law is being rejected because it will have shortcomings in any case. It will prevent equality of opportunity, lead to the loss of votes, and influence electoral behavior. Even with an election turnout of below 50 percent, there will be no rerun of the election.

Draft Law on Local Elections Released

AU1602124590 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Feb 90 p 3

[Unattributed Report: "Text of Draft Law on Elections to District Assemblies, City Assemblies, City District Assemblies, and Local Representative Bodies"]

[Text]

I. Election Principles and Election System

Section 1

(1) The elections to the district assemblies, city assemblies, city district assemblies, and local representative bodies (local elections) take place on the basis of the GDR Constitution, this law, and the election regulations passed for this purpose.

(2) The district assemblies, city assemblies, city district assemblies, and local representative bodies determine the number of their deputies on the basis of the stipulations in the appendix.

Section 2

(1) The deputies are elected for a term of four years in a free, general, equal, direct, and secret ballot by the GDR citizens eligible to vote.

(2) Exercising one's right to vote is based on the voter's free decision.

Section 3

(1) Every GDR citizen who is over 18 years of age and whose principal residence is on the territory of the corresponding people's representative body is eligible to vote.

(2) Under the conditions mentioned in Chapter 1, every foreigner who has been living in the GDR for more than two years and who possesses a residence permit that results from employment or training in a GDR enterprise or an institution, or who has a permanent residence in the GDR as a result of a residence permit is eligible.

(3) Those not eligible are:

1. people who are legally placed under the care of a guardian;

2. people who have been stripped of their civic rights as a result of a final judgment.

(4) The right to vote is suspended in the case of citizens who have been committed to a psychiatric institution because of an abnormal mental function based on a valid legal regulation, as well as in the case of citizens who have been placed under temporary guardianship or under curatorship because of mental handicaps.

Section 4

(1) Every GDR citizen who has completed his 18th year by election day is allowed to vote. [as published]

(2) Every citizen who has completed his 18th year by election day and who has been living in the GDR for more than two years and who possesses a residence permit that results from employment or training in a GDR enterprise or an institution, or who has his permanent residence in the GDR as a result of a residence permit can be elected.

(3) Those not eligible for election are:

1. People who are not eligible to vote in accordance with Section 3, Subsection 3, or whose right to vote is suspended in line with Section 3, Subsection 4;

2. people who have been legally sentenced to prison terms and whose sentence has not yet been served.

Section 5

(1) Elections are held in line with the principles of the majority voting system, on the basis of several candidates in every constituency.

(2) Every voter has as many votes as there are mandates to be filled in the constituency.

II. Election Preparation

Section 6

(1) Elections are announced by the People's Chamber. Elections are announced 60 days before election day at the latest.

(2) New election take place 60 days at the latest after the expiration of the legislative period.

Section 7

(1) The corresponding people's representative body determines the entire number of deputies to be elected on the basis of the population and the stipulations contained in the appendix by the 50th day before election day. If there is no people's representative body, the next higher people's representative body determines the number.

(2) The corresponding electoral commission determines the number and size of the constituencies on the basis of the political-territorial order, while essentially adhering

to the same number of persons eligible to vote per mandate by the 45th day before election day. Two to five deputies per constituency are elected. In towns and villages where no more than 15 deputies are to be elected, a constituency can be formed.

Section 8

(1) Voting takes place in voting districts. For every constituency, the voting districts and the polling places are to be determined by the towns, town districts, and villages, and are to be announced publicly.

(2) One voting district should not include more than 1,500 persons eligible to vote, but it must not be so small as to endanger the secrecy of the ballot.

(3) The formation of the voting districts is to be announced no later than 30 days before election day.

Section 9

(1) Candidates can be nominated by parties, political associations and other organizations, citizens' movements and communities, as well as by the voters.

(2) Parties, political associations, and other organizations, citizens' movements, and communities that express hatred against denominations, races, and peoples, and that engage in military propaganda or incite war, remain excluded from the elections. A corresponding decision is made by the Presidium of the GDR's Electoral Commission, which includes five persons.

(3) Nominations of candidates require the support of statements, signed personally and by hand, by at least five percent of the citizens living in the corresponding constituency who are eligible to vote. No more than 200 declarations of support are needed.

No declarations of support are required for candidates of parties, political associations, and other organizations that have been registered in accordance with the legal stipulations and that are organized nationwide, or if they represent an ethnic minority.

Section 10

(1) Parties, political associations, other organizations, citizens' movements, or communities may nominate as many candidates as there are mandates to be filled in the constituency.

(2) The nomination of only one candidate is allowed in every constituency.

(3) Only a person who, in a secret ballot, has been given the confidence of the majority present at a members' or representatives' assembly—which forms a quorum—can be nominated as a candidate by a party, a political association or another organization, or a citizens' movement or community.

Section 11

(1) The electoral commission competent for the election of the respective people's representative body calls by public announcement—45 days before election day at the latest—for the submission of election proposals for the individual constituencies. The election proposals are to be submitted to the electoral commission 30 days before election day.

(2) The election proposals must contain the following:

1. Information about the candidate—last name and first name, year and place of birth, profession and current occupation, address, membership in parties and political associations;

2. name of person submitting nomination in accordance with Section 9, Subsection 1, including declarations of support required in accordance with Section 9, Subsection 3;

3. the signature of at least three authorized representatives of the party's executive committee that is responsible for the region, of a political association or another organization, citizens' movement of community if it has nominated the candidate;

4. the written statement by the candidate that he agrees with his nomination;

5. the certificate of the local council responsible for the candidate's place of residence concerning the fact that the candidate is eligible for election.

Section 12

(1) All election proposals are to be examined by the electoral commission within three days.

(2) The election proposals, which correspond to the legal requirements, are to be registered for every constituency by the responsible electoral commission.

(3) If election proposals show defects concerning Section 11, Subsection 2, the electoral commission will immediately inform the person who submitted the proposal and request him to eliminate this defect.

(4) Election proposals are not registered if:

1. the preconditions listed in Section 9 (2) for exclusion from participation in the elections exist;

2. if the period for submission of the election proposals in line with Section 11 (1) has expired;

3. if the defects pointed out by the electoral committee are not eliminated by the end of the period for submitting the election proposals.

(5) Decisions by the electoral commission of the constituency in line with Subsection 4, Nos. 2 and 3, can be appealed within three days at the GDR Electoral Commission. The decision on the complaint has to be made by the 21st day before the elections at the latest.

Section 13

(1) The responsible electoral commission publishes the election proposals in an adequate form in the individual constituencies no later than on the 18th day before election day.

(2) Election proposals cannot be changed or withdrawn once they are officially published unless a candidate forfeits his eligibility or dies.

(3) In the case of Chapter 2, parties, political associations, and other organizations, citizens movements and communities have the right to renominate candidates until the fifth day before election day.

III. Electoral Commission and Election Proposals

Section 14

(1) The elections are headed by democratically established electoral commissions that work in public.

(2) The following bodies will be established:

1. The Presidium of the GDR Electoral Commission, which comprises five persons.

2. The GDR Electoral Commission consisting of its chairman, two deputy chairmen, other members, and a secretary.

3. The electoral commissions of the areas, consisting of a chairman, one deputy chairman, other members, and a secretary.

4. The electoral commissions of the districts, cities, city districts, and communities, consisting of a chairman, a deputy chairman, other members, and a secretary.

Section 15

(1) The electoral commissions will be established by the people's representative bodies at the individual levels no later than on the 50th day before election day. The parties, political associations, and other organizations, citizens movements, and communities, as well as interested citizens, may submit their proposals. In the case of the absence of a people's representative body, the responsible body at the higher level decides.

(2) The electoral commissions elect the chairman and his deputy from among their members in secret ballot.

(3) The names of the members of the electoral commissions are published in an adequate form.

(4) Candidates for people's representative bodies cannot be members of an electoral commission.

(5) The electoral commissions remain in office until the 90th day after the elections.

Section 16

(1) The electoral committees must be established by the electoral commissions of the cities, city districts, and communities no later than on the 15th day before election day. The parties, political associations, and other organizations, citizens movements and communities, as well as interested citizens, are entitled to submit their proposals until the 25th day before election day.

(2) The electoral committee consists of at least seven members. It elects a chairman, deputy chairman, and a secretary from among its members in secret ballot.

(3) Candidates for the people's representative bodies cannot be members of an electoral committee.

Section 17

[no numbers as published] The electoral commissions and electoral committees discuss and make their decisions in public sessions.

Decisions are adopted by a majority of votes. In the event of a tie vote, the chairman or, in his absence, his deputy has the casting vote.

IV. Electoral List

Section 18

(1) The electoral list is drawn up for each constituency by the responsible council of the city, city district, or community no later than 21 days before election day. Foreigners can have their names recorded in the electoral list on request and under the conditions established in Section 3, Chapter 2.

(2) The only people entitled to vote are those who are registered in the electoral list of their constituency, or who are added to the electoral list on election day following a decision of the electoral committee. The names of people can be added to the electoral list if they were not included in the electoral list through no fault of their own, and if their right to vote was examined by the electoral committee.

Section 19

(1) The electoral registers are to be presented for general, public inspection from the 21st to the seventh day before election day. The place and time of public presentation, as well as the right to complain against the electoral register, are to be announced by the responsible council in an appropriate way.

(2) Every person eligible to vote is to be informed in writing about having been registered in the electoral register by the responsible council of the town, the city district, or the village up to 10 days before election day.

(3) The citizens have the right to request the correction of incorrect records in the electoral register or its supplementation at the responsible council.

The council has to examine the information and to make the necessary corrections and supplementation.

(4) If it is intended to remove a citizen from the electoral register for reasons mentioned in Section 3, Subsections 3 and 4, the citizen in question has to be informed immediately. He is to be given the opportunity to comment on this.

(5) The citizen has the right to turn to the district court responsible for his area of residence and request a rescission of the decision by the responsible local council in line with Subsections 3 and 4.

(6) The district court makes a final decision on the complaint within three days, at the latest one day before the elections. If the complaint is justified, the court orders the change in the electoral register. The procedure is covered by the regulations of the law on the responsibility and the procedures of the courts to review administrative decisions. No litigation costs have to be paid.

Section 20

On the second day before election day, at 1600, the electoral register has to be closed, being checked by at least two members of the electoral commissions of the towns, city districts, and villages. A protocol has to be drawn up on this.

The responsible council briefs the responsible electoral commission on the number of citizens who are eligible to vote.

V. Voting Slips and Polling Place

Section 21

(1) The voting slips are produced officially.

(2) The responsible electoral commission is responsible for the production and the timely handing over of the voting slips to the electoral committees.

(3) The voting slip contains the name of the candidates in alphabetical order, their occupation, and the name of the organization proposing the candidate.

Section 22

(1) The polling places decided by the electoral commissions are to be furnished by the local councils.

(2) In the polling place, voting booths have to erected in such a way that the voter is able to prepare his voting slip unobserved.

(3) The ballot boxes have to be constructed in such a way that the secrecy of the voter's personal decision is reliably guaranteed.

VI. Voting

Section 23

The local elections take place from 0700 to 1800. Voting is public.

Section 24

(1) Voting is supervised by the electoral committee.

(2) Before the start of voting, the chairman of the electoral committee commissions its members with a handshake.

(3) In the presence of voters, the electoral committee convinces itself of the correct state of the ballot boxes. Each ballot box is to be sealed.

The seal may be broken only after voting has finished in order to count the votes.

(4) The chairman of the electoral committee and his secretary must not be absent from the polling place at the same time. If the chairman is absent, his deputy replaces him.

(5) The electoral committee imposes measures to maintain order in the polling place. These measures are binding. Persons who disturb the voting may be expelled from the polling place by the electoral committee.

Section 25

(1) The persons eligible to vote receive the voting slips after they have identified themselves by presenting a personal document.

(2) Only the official voting slips distributed by the electoral committee entitle a person to vote.

Section 26

(1) Voting slips are to be prepared by the person eligible to vote in a voting booth. The use of the voting booth is obligatory.

(2) The simultaneous presence of several voters in the voting booth is prohibited.

(3) Persons eligible to vote who are unable to prepare the voting slip themselves are entitled to be supported in this work by a person of their confidence.

Section 27

(1) The voter may mark as many candidates as seats are to be allocated in the constituency by a cross or in any other clear way. The voter can cast only one vote for one candidate.

(2) Voting takes place by putting the voting slip into the ballot box.

Section 28

After the time allowed for voting at the polling places has expired, only those voters who are still in the polling place are permitted to cast their votes.

Afterward, the chairman of the electoral committee declares the voting concluded.

Section 29

(1) Any expression of support for a certain party, political association, or any other organization, citizens movement or community, or for a certain candidate in words, sound, pictures, or writing is prohibited in and in front of the polling place up to a distance of 100 meters.

(2) Opinion polls of voters and the publication of their results are permitted until seven days before the elections.

(3) Results of interviews with voters on their decision at the elections may be published only after the polling places have been closed.

VII. Determination of the Election Result

Section 30

(1) Immediately after the conclusion of the voting, the votes are publicly counted in the polling place by the electoral committee.

(2) Those official voting slips that have not been distributed must be counted and put into a sealed envelope. Subsequently, the voting slips are taken out of the ballot box.

(3) The electoral committee publicly announces the number of people eligible to vote and determines:

1. the number of votes cast;

2. the number of valid and invalid votes;

3. the number of valid votes cast for the individual candidates.

Section 31

(1) The electoral committee decides whether the votes cast are valid.

(2) The voting slip is invalid if:

1. another voting slip instead of the official one is used to cast the vote;

2. the will of the voter cannot be clearly determined;

3. more candidates were marked with a cross or in any other way than seats can be allocated;

4. the voting slip contains additional remarks, deletions, or reservations;

5. the voting slip is torn;

6. the voter marked the voting slip outside the ballot box;

Section 32

(1) An election protocol is to be drawn up publicly by the electoral committee about the voting and the result of the counting.

(2) The election protocol is to be signed by the chairman of the electoral committee, the secretary, and at least three other members.

Section 33

(1) On the basis of the election protocols sent by the electoral committees, the responsible electoral commission checks the orderly holding of the elections in every constituency, summarizes the results from the voting districts, and determines on their basis:

1. the turnout;

2. the number of valid and invalid votes;

3. the number of votes cast for the individual candidates;

4. who has been elected as a deputy.

The electoral commission draws up an election protocol on this. It is to be signed by the chairman and at least half of the members of the electoral commission.

(2) If the turnout is more than 50 percent, the mandates are distributed in the order of the proportional votes for the candidates.

(3) If the turnout in a constituency is less than 50 percent, the election in the constituency is invalid.

Section 34

The responsible electoral commission summarizes the results from all constituencies set down in the election protocols and determines the final overall result and the validity of the elections to the district assembly, the city assembly, the city district assembly, or the local representative bodies and draws up the final report. The electoral commission orders the public announcement of the final results of the election.

Section 35

(1) The elected deputies are to be informed in writing about the election by the responsible electoral commission within seven days after the elections.

(2) If the deputy rejects the election, he has to make this statement in writing to the responsible electoral commission within seven days after being informed about the elections.

Section 36

(1) If the turnout in the constituency is not over 50 percent, the elections are repeated within 14 days in line with the same regulations, election proposals, and electoral registers.

(2) The validity of the repeated election is not dependent on the turnout.

Section 37

The electoral commissions of the GDR and of the areas order the publication of the election result.

Section 38

(1) Organizations entitled to make an election proposal and candidates may contest the validity of the election results in certain constituencies or the validity of the overall result within 20 days after the announcement of the final overall result.

(2) The complaint is to be made in writing and by presenting the reasons and evidence to the GDR Electoral Commission.

(3) The GDR Electoral Commission discusses and decides within 10 days in a public session on the complaints about the validity of election results.

(4) The decision is made in writing and is to be substantiated. It is final.

(5) If a complaint is granted, the GDR Electoral Commission must either correct the election result or order a repeat of the elections.

(6) The repeat elections must be held within 21 days after the decision. The date of the repeat elections is set by the GDR Electoral Commission.

(7) The repeat elections take place on the basis of the same regulations, election proposals, as well as electoral registers as the main elections, if the decision does not say otherwise.

Section 39

(1) The following election documents are to be kept locked away until the end of the legislative period: protocols of the electoral commissions, protocols of the electoral committees, as well as the protocols of destruction in line with subsection 2.

(2) Electoral registers and voting slips are to be destroyed under the supervision of the district electoral commissions between the 60th and 80th day after the elections. A protocol is to be drawn up on this and is to be sent to the GDR Electoral Commission.

VIII. Beginning and End of the Deputies' Rights

Section 40

(1) The rights and duties of the deputies start with their election and end on the day of the elections to the people's representative body of the new legislative period.

(2) During the legislative period, the mandate of a deputy expires by death, by losing his eligibility to be elected, by withdrawal of the mandate, or by recall. If the deputy dies or loses his eligibility to be elected, the people's representative body notes the expiration of the mandate.

(3) Deputies have the right to ask for their mandate to be withdrawn during the legislative period. The people's representative body decides on the request.

(4) A deputy who grossly violates his duties can be recalled at the request of the voters or by the organization that proposed him as a candidate. Requests for recall must be supported by statements, which are signed—personally and in handwriting—by at least 25 percent of the citizens of the constituency who are eligible to vote. The request is decided by the people's representative body with a two-thirds majority of the deputies present.

Section 41

(1) If a deputy leaves, the seat remains vacant.

(2) If the number of vacant seat exceeds one-third of the total number of seats, a by-election has to be held.

(3) The by-election takes place in line with the regulations for the main elections. For this purpose, electoral commissions have to be formed at the respective and at the next higher level. The latter sets the date for the by-elections.

Section 42

Payment of election costs is made on the basis of the election regulations, the law on parties and associations, as well as other legal regulations.

Section 43

(1) This law comes into force upon its announcement.

(2) At the same time, the following laws are rescinded: the Law on the Elections to the GDR People's Representative Bodies—Election Law—of 24 June 1976 (Legal Gazette I 1976, No. 22, p 301) in the edition of the Law on Amending the Election Law of 28 June 1979 (Legal Gazette I 1979, No. 17, p 139); and the law of 3 March 1989 on supplementing the election law (Legal Gazette I 1989, No. 7, p 109).

(3) In line with the above election law, an election regulation is to be passed by a resolution and is to be published by the People's Chamber at the latest by the date when the GDR Electoral Commission is formed.

Appendix to Section 1, Subsection 2

Skeleton Regulations on the Number of Deputies

1. The following are elected to the district assemblies:

In districtes with

—up to 75,000 inhabitants
40-70 deputies;

—up to 100,000 inhabitants
60-90 deputies;

—over 100,000 inhabitants
80-110 deputies.

2. The following are elected to city assemblies in the city districtes and to the city district assemblies in Berlin:

In cities or city districts in Berlin with

—up to 75,000 inhabitants
50-70 deputies;

—up to 100,000 inhabitants
70-100 deputies;

—up to 200,000 inhabitants
100-130 deputies;

—up to 500,000 inhabitants
130-160 deputies;

—over 500,000 inhabitants
160-210 deputies.

3. The following are elected to city district assemblies:

In city districts with

—up to 75,000 inhabitants
50-70 deputies;

—up to 100,000 inhabitants
70-100 deputies;

—over 100,000 inhabitants
100-130 deputies.

4. The following are elected to city assemblies of district-administered cities and to the local representative bodies:

In cities and villages with

—up to 500 inhabitants
7-15 deputies;

—up 1,000 inhabitants
11-19 deputies;

—up to 2,000 inhabitants
15-21 deputies;

—up to 5,000 inhabitants
19-24 deputies;

—up to 10,000 inhabitants
20-30 deputies;

—up to 20,000 inhabitants
25-40 deputies;

—up to 40,000 inhabitants
35-50 deputies;

—up to 50,000 inhabitants
45-70 deputies;

—over 50,000 inhabitants
60-90 deputies.

Changes and supplementations can be addressed in writing to:

GDR People's Chamber

Marx-Engels Square

Berlin

1020

Subject: New Draft Law on Elections.

SPD Wins Most Support in Latest Poll

LD2002214190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1822 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Leipzig (ADN)—At the present time, 79 percent of GDR citizens who are entitled to vote would do so. This the result of the second representative opinion poll in the GDR to assess the current political situation, which was conducted in the first half of February by the Central Institute for Youth Research in Leipzig with the support of the GDR Institute for Market Research. Some 1,800 people above the age of 15 throughout the GDR were included.

This is how the election result would look: Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD], 53 percent; Christian Democratic Union [CDU], 13; Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS], 12; Democratic Peasant Party [DBD], four; Liberal Democratic Party [LDP], three; and New Forum, three. All other parties and movements received less than three percent. With slight deviations, this corresponds to the first projection, the results of which were published on 7 February.

Compared with the first representative opinion poll in November 1989, this signifies an enormous increase in votes for the SPD (six percent then), and a considerable loss for the PDS (31 percent then), and also for the LDP (23 percent in November as the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany LDPD) and the New Forum (17 percent in November). Assuming participation of the Republicans in the election, they would have obtained one percent of the votes on a nationwide basis.

Asked (without names being suggested) which GDR personalities enjoyed their confidence in the renewal of society, 52 percent named Hans Modrow (65 percent in

November). At a considerable distance behind were Wolfgang Berghofer (18 percent), Ibrahim Boehme (15 percent), and Guenter Maleuda and Kurt Masur (each five percent).

Some three-quarters of those polled (79 percent) approved the unification of the two German states. This is a clear increase on the November figure of 48 percent. [passage omitted]

Sixty-three percent of the populations want to remain in the GDR. One percent of those entitled to vote, that is to say way over 100,000, definitely intend to leave.

The Central Institute for Youth Research intends to publish the results of the third poll now being conducted before the election on 18 March.

Kohl Attends Election Rally in Erfurt

LD2002180290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1618 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Erfurt (ADN)—FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl was welcomed with cheers and applause, but also with whistles, this evening on the historic Domplatz in Erfurt for his first appearance in the People's Chamber election campaign in the GDR. Tens of thousands of local people and visitors to Erfurt were in the square. The chairmen of Democratic Awakening, Wolfgang Schnur; the German Social Union, Hans-Wilhelm Ebeling; and the CDU [Christian Democratic Union] of the GDR, Lothar de Maiziere, took part in the rally.

The rally on the Erfurt Domplatz is the first of six events at which FRG CDU Chairman Helmut Kohl intends to rally support for the Alliance for Germany in the campaign for the People's Chamber elections.

Further on Kohl at Rally

LD2002204190 Hamburg DPA in German 1832 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Erfurt (DPA)—According to the organizers, 130,000 GDR citizens were cheering Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Erfurt this evening at his first appearance in the election campaign. In Erfurt's Cathedral Square, Kohl was welcomed at the election rally of the conservative "Alliance for Germany" with shouts of "Helmut, Helmut" and "Germany, united fatherland." [passage omitted]

In his speech, Kohl spoke in favor of rapid steps toward German unity. He described the People's Chamber elections on 18 March as a "decisive milestone." He said: "It lies in your hands to see that in the forthcoming election the correct political conviction and the path of reason has a chance." The framework conditions for the introduction of the social market economy in the GDR must be agreed as soon as possible after the election.

Kohl strongly attacked the Federal German Social Democrats, who deserve to be called "wrynecks." One should not forget that at every opportunity they have made common cause with the SED [Social Unity Party of Germany] rulers. They also supported a GDR state citizenship, "that would have meant marginalization of our fellow countrymen." The federal chancellor ended his speech with the words: "Long live our German fatherland!"

Calls for Large Turnout

LD2002221190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1903 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Erfurt (ADN)—In his speech this evening in Erfurt's Cathedral Square in support of the Alliance for Germany, FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl, talking of "the difficult road that now lies before us," called for a high election turnout and for votes for the three GDR parties DA [Democratic Awakening], DSU [German Social Union], and CDU [Christian Democratic Union]. This would set the signals for the future.

Addressing the neighbors to the East and the West, he reiterated the promise that peace will emanate from a united Germany. "We want to make our contribution this year to the disarmament negotiations now that there are tangible opportunities in Vienna for reductions in conventional forces," and the world powers have the chance of a 50-percent reduction in ICBM's and chemical weapons are being banned everywhere.

Kohl said he is grateful for the result of the talks with General Secretary Gorbachev on German unity. On the other hand, he said with regard to GDR Prime Minister Modrow that following the talks in Dresden he [Kohl] had been certain that "the conditions for the introduction of the social market economy would be very rapidly agreed." He is not responsible for the delay.

"We want a social climate here in the GDR in which businesses, the middle classes and the trade unions, who all bear responsibility in the economy, cooperate," Kohl said. He recalled the transitional assistance already made available, but said he is not prepared to invest in a system if he cannot see that it is benefiting the people. Only "when the necessary legislative measures have been taken will not just hundreds but thousands of entrepreneurs from the Federal Republic, who are ready to invest, come here and, together with you, we will create a flourishing country within a short time." Helmut Kohl said that this is the result of his three hours of talks with entrepreneurs today.

Some are finding developments too rapid, but time is now pressing. "We want people to stay here and to build up the country together with us." The introduction of the Deutsche mark is the precondition for an economic and social community. Then an equal social security net can be developed with speedy national insurance and secure pensions.

TV Programs Before Elections Announced

AU2102102190 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 14 Feb 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Self-Portraits of Parties and TV Spots Decided by Drawing Lots"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] GDR Television will do everything that is possible with "its staff and technology" to democratically give a picture of the first free elections, Helmut Hartung, chief of the election television team, told the press from East and West on 13 February. We are not planning any joint programs with ARD and ZDF, which also want to report from the Palace of the Republic, but mutual technical support is planned.

In addition, Hartung announced that beginning 19 February the parties will be permitted to speak "on their own behalf"—based on the order decided by drawing lots—from Monday to Friday from 1950 to 2005 [1850-1905 GMT] on Channel One and from 2145 to 2200 [2045-2100 GMT] on Channel Two. GDR television will neither influence the contents of nor the questions in these broadcasts. These 15-minute broadcasts are planned to be exclusively studio discussions without film clips. In addition, election spots for which the parties are responsible and which will be repeated several times will also be broadcast. An arbitration commission consisting of three church representatives and television director Hans Bentzien will make decisions on disagreements. The election cast "Mit dem Gesicht zum Volke—Election 90" ["Facing the People—Election 90"] developed by the television team will remain on the television program. On 12 and 13 March, the election programs are planned to be discussed with party representatives in two-hour talks on Channel Two.

Frankfurt/Oder Protest for Sovereign GDR

LD2002224890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2030 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Frankfurt/Oder (ADN)—Several thousand mostly young citizens demonstrated for the preservtion of national sovereignty in Frankfurt/Oder this evening. In their march through the city center and residential areas, they voiced opposition to the creation of a greater Germany.

Banners rejected a sellout of the country and demanded a referendum on the future sovereignty of the GDR. The organizers say that the demonstration for a sovereign GDR, staged by several youth groups, is to take place every Tuesday in Frankfurt/Oder in future.

Modrow Rejects Stoltenberg NATO Plan

AU1902132690 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1200 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow has rejected considerations on expanding NATO's sphere of influence to the territory of the present GDR in the event of unification of the two German states. Modrow said in East Berlin on 19 February that demands to expand the Western alliance to the Oder-Neisse border or to link the process of unification with the inclusion of NATO are not apt to create confidence in Europe. He was reacting to statements made by Federal Defense Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg, who said on 16 February that after unification the protection guaranteed by the NATO Treaty applied to the whole territory of Germany and thus, not only to the FRG.

Stoltenberg's concept was also criticized by the Free Democratic Party [FDP] and the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD]. FDP Chairman Otto Graf Lambsdorff called upon Federal Chancellor Kohl to clarify the quarrel within the coalition. At the same time, he backed Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher's position that in the event of a unified Germany, no Western troops must be deployed on the territory of the present GDR.

SPD Chairman Hans-Jochen Vogel accused Defense Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg of having stabbed Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher in the back with his proposal. He said that he did not understand at all why Stoltenberg provoked the Soviet Union at this time in such a way.

The German Bundeswehr Association has also backed Genscher's position. The chairman of this association, (Wenzel), said in an interview with Saarbruecken Saarlaendischer Rundfunk Network that after unification, the deployment of Bundeswehr troops must be confined to the territory of the present FRG.

Nonalignment of Future Germany Advocated

AU2002125490 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Feb 90 p 2

[Reiner Oschmann editorial: "Frightening—for Whom?"]

[Text] The more—responsible or irresponsible—talk there is about the conditions, the date, and the form of German unity, the more urgent becomes the question concerning the membership in an alliance of the 80 million people. The debate is becoming increasingly heated. However, the warning that has been constantly repeated in the West since Modrow presented his ideas on the neutrality of a future Germany is both striking and incomprehensible for ordinary citizens: Germany may be everything but neutral! It should be united and be a member of NATO.

Figures like Manfred Woerner, but also other important politicians—most recently the British foreign secretary—state categorically that countries like Switzerland and Austria may be neutral but not Germany. Nonalignment is incompatible with security, reliability, and peacefulness, they argue. Is that true?

My impression is that the fear of neutrality seems to affect primarily those in the West who see neutrality as a preliminary stage of a synonym of demilitarization. However, what should be so frightening about a Germany that would ultimately be free from armies and weapons? If the word "German" occasionally sounded too metallic for people in the past, this was not because of unspecific German vices but because the German economic superpower developed into a German military power, which led to the well-known results.

However, why should a demilitarized Germany, one which would hopefully be the germ cell of a really collective and large-scale European security system, be "more dangerous" and "more unreliable" than the continued existence of a NATO that continues the arms race?

It is true that the reduction of the enormous weapons arsenals will be difficult concerning the details. However, the risks of the reduction must not be used as an alibi for increasingly absurd arguments in favor of the continued arms race. Common sense seems to prevail in the East and West in this connection. A total of 92 percent of all GDR citizens and 58 percent of all FRG citizens interviewed in a representative opinion poll by the Wickert Institutes were in favor of a nonalignment of Germany after its reunification. This alone demonstrates the worldwide desire for a Germany without weapons and a world without military blocs.

It seems as if the times would become more difficult for swords and easier for plowshares. The news from Ottawa that the Soviet Union and the United States want to reduce their troops in Central Europe to 195,000 men each is to be welcomed in this connection. Does this repreent a renewal of the principle of hope?

Eppelmann Defends 'Necessity' of Army

LD1902145190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1338 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The existence of the National People's Army (NVA) on the territory of the present GDR is an essential necessity even after the People's Chamber elections on 18 March, Minister Rainer Eppelmann (Democratic Awakening) said today during a visit to the GDR Defense Ministry. In a conversation with Defense Minister Admiral Theodor Hoffmann, Eppelmann was acquainted with the military reform in the GDR, the situation in the NVA, and the concepts and perspectives of the NVA's development, bearing in mind the unification of the two German states.

Minister Eppelmann met with officers and cadet sergeants of the NVA and was briefed on their views of the political restructuring and the social concerns of Army members.

According to a statement by the Defense Ministry, the two ministers expressed the view that immediately after the elections a joint military commission should be set up between the NVA and the Bundeswehr to deal with those issues arising out of the growing together of the two German states for their armies and European security.

Ministers Eppelmann and Hoffmann, it said, intend to submit to the government a joint proposal to lift the Council of Ministers resolution of 1978 concerning the awarding of traditional names. Accordingly, formations, troop sections, units, and establishments of the NVA and border troops are no longer to bear those names that are contrary to the perception and the pluralistic view of tradition and German traditions.

Firms Sign First Joint Venture Contract

LD2002184390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1538 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Munich (ADN)—A contract on the first joint venture between the FRG and the GDR was signed in Kranzberg, near Munich, today by the GDR Robotron Combine and the FRG company Reiner E. Pilz Gmbh. The contract, signed in the presence of Bavarian Finance Minister Gerold Tandler by Robotron General Director Friedrich Wokurka and Bavarian businessman Reiner E. Pilz provides for the construction of a joint factory for the production of 24 million compact discs and 100 million plastic boxes annually in Mehlis in Suhl Area in the GDR. [passage omitted]

Extradition of Criminals Agreed With Bonn

AU2002075990 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Feb 90 p 2

[ADN report: "Extradition of Criminals Agreed in Bonn"]

[Text] Bonn—The practical shaping of legal assistance in criminal cases between the FRG and GDR was the subject of two days of talks in Bonn by a group of experts from the justice ministries of both German states. Both sides agreed that the opening of the borders must not allow criminals to flee from justice.

The FRG and GDR representatives agreed on the extradition and acceptance, respectively, of criminals. This applies primarily to cases where property offenses, driving cases, and breaches concerning persons' obligation in cases of alimony are involved.

11 Percent Decrease in Jobs Noted

AU2002075590 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Feb 90 p 2

[ADN report: "11 Percent Decrease in Jobs"]

[Text] East Berlin—An increasing number of mothers looking for jobs, dismissals, as well as insufficient programs for the creation of new jobs and for retraining—this was the bitter truth that the deputies to the People's Chamber Committee for Labor and Social Policy dealt with at a session of the committee in Berlin on 15 February. Roland Schneider, state secretary in the Ministry of Employment and Wages, announced that 107,575 out of 145,030 working people who were dismissed by 31 January have found new jobs. As compared with the preceding month, 11 percent fewer jobs are available. The situation in Berlin is complicated: Owing to overqualification in many cases, there is only one job for every eight university and college cadres who are looking for jobs.

There was agreement among the committee members that not only the offices for employment but also enterprises must assume responsibility.

Agreement Signed With Israeli Airlines

LD2002231590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1515 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Representatives of the GDR airline Interflug and the Israeli airline El Al have signed an "interline" contract after commercial negotiations. It means that the tickets of the two airlines will be mutually recognized and relations between Interlug and El Al will be normalized.

Kurt Zube, director of commercial aviation, said in response to questions from ADN that a strong interest exists on the Israeli side in an air route between Jerusalem and Berlin-Schoenefeld. However, contrary to agency reports, no agreements have been signed on this subject. A precondition would be an aviation agreement between the two countries.

Kurt Zube said the GDR Aviation Authority has not received a corresponding Israeli application yet.

Horn, Others View Europe's Future

LD2002200590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1900 GMT 10 Feb 90

["Firsthand Information" program moderated by Henrik Havas, with Foreign Minister Gyula Horn; National Security Office chief Lajos Nagy; Gyorgy Konrad, writer and Alliance of Free Democrats representative; Denes Csengey, writer and Hungarian Democratic Forum representative; and international law Professor Laszlo Valki; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Havas] Good evening, Henrik Havas here at the microphone. I have to say that our program today is recorded because Foreign Minister Gyula Horn is busy tonight in the Kossuth Club, where the HSP's [Hungarian Socialist Party]—his party—election program is being recorded.

You now know that one of our guests is Foreign Minister Gyula Horn. Joining us here is Lajos Nagy, the newly appointed head of the Hungarian National Security Office. Two writers are also here in the "Firsthand Information" studio: Gyorgy Konrad, representing the SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats], and Denes Csengey, from the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum]. Also here, beside me, is Laszlo Valki, professor in international law. I do not know whether you are representing anyone.

[Valki] The university Department of International Law.

[Havas] I believe that from this lineup, it is Lajos Nagy about whom we hardly know anything. What we know is that last week, you were assigned by the government to head a new office. Please introduce yourself.

[Nagy] I am Lajos Nagy. From a certain viewpoint, I am a parachutist [ejtoeernyoes] at this office, because I worked for a long time in intelligence, at first in political intelligence; and for eight years I have been the head of external counterintelligence, or rather, for five years; until then I was deputy head.

This morning, I received from Premier Miklos Nemeth, personally, the assignment to create the National Security Office of the Republic of Hungary through the use of the existing resources, and it should expressly consist of experts.

[Havas] Is this that certain counterintelligence? This matter is always confused. What is intelligence [hirszerzes] and what is counterintelligence [elharitas]?

[Nagy] It is not that. It is not any of those which, as is generally known, was abolished. Yet, it can also be attributed to the press that up to now these services have been surrounded by big myths, and there was a regular confusing of internal counterintelligence [belsoe elharitas], intelligence [hirszerzes], and counterespionage [kemelharitas]. In any event, the name was stated of this so-called internal security service, the former III-3 group command of the Interior Ministry. Unfortunately, this caused much misunderstanding and makes it necessary that public opinion be more familiar with these services, as well as with the information office [informacios hivatal], which is intelligence's legal successor, and from where I have ended up as head of the National Security Office [as heard]. In this manner, many misunderstandings can be clarified. I do not believe that I have to say very much about this now. To be sure, there will be opportunities for me to attempt to shed light on how the office will approach certain issues, inasmuch as I am able.

[Havas] When I learned today that you had been appointed, I began to think over whether it was good that I was inviting you now. Then, I thought that the announced topic of our conversation today is the new Europe and Hungary's place in it. In this regard, thinking in terms of the categories of friendly, hostile, and indifferent countries, you, who as head of this office deal with intelligence, counterintelligence—and we will find out later the specifics—obviously have something to say, regarding how you, in this particular situation, view Europe and the other countries of the continent.

Gyorgy Konrad, who is my favorite writer, in 1986 wrote that we were born in an incurably unfortunate geographical region, and that in 1986 there were two possible solutions: either to leave, or to stay here. It was easier to leave; it was more complicated to stay here and develop autonomy, create genuine sovereignty. It appears that not only Hungary, but this region generally chose the latter.

[Konrad] Excuse me, but I wrote that in 1982.

[Havas] Let us continue with the question of how can this region, Central-Eastern Europe or Eastern-Central Europe, which is in this situation, fit back into Europe? I will immediately give a pessimistic aproach: Denis Healey, British Labor Party politician, said last weekend that the region between the Elba and the Urals is in such a crisis that it poses to the continent the threat of armed conflict. In a period of hooray-optimism this comment of Healey frightens me somewhat. Which is the correct approach?

Laszlo Valki was in Potsdam at the conference dealing with German reunification. How was this matter viewed here?

[Valki] There, the danger of armed conflict did not even arise. What was discussed was how the two Germanies will be unified, more precisely when this will happen. I have to say that it was astonishing to see that the East German political leaders still believe that the East German system will last for a few months; therefore, after the elections scheduled for 18 March there will still be a East Germany for a while that slowly, cautiously, will create a confederated formation with West Germany, and that agreement will be reached on everything. At this same conference, the West Germans, or West Berliners, for example West German Mayor Momper, who is a very popular figure, said that there will be

elections on 18 March; on 19 March the new Volkskammer will be formed; on 20 March the provinces will be formed in the GDR; and on 21 March these provinces will ask to join the FRG, on the basis of the 23rd section of the FRG's Constitution, which allows a province to join the FRG as a new one if it wants to do so. The change appears to be astonishingly quick.

[Havas] How should we handle this German question? Gyorgy Konrad.

[Konrad] As a fact. We should take cognizance that we are here, in a region that is surrounded on the east and west by two large nations. These, alternately over time, have been occupying powers, powers with zones of influence, in Central-Eastern Europe and Eastern Europe. The region's inhabitants have created democratic national movements, in defense of their sovereignty and autonomy, which have now come into synchronization with one another. It is not probable that this region in the coming time might require the assumption of a one-directional position of dependence.

I will add that probably the process of German reunification will also stimulate the European region that lies to the west and south of Germany, thus the Latin Europe, to greater foreign political activity. President Mitterrand's proposal that the development of a European confederation [word indistinct] probably will become an accepted idea. It also is conceivable that until this central region becomes a normal member of Europe, a normal member of the European union, some form of mutually supporting, cooperating integration will develop there.

[Havas] Can we believe that the states of Central Europe might finally be able to sort out their fates in a sovereign manner? Many signs indicate that we are nearly going back to the situation between the two world wars. The Czechoslovaks are traditionally choosing an Anglo-Saxon orientation; France has always devoted special attention to Romania; and, whether or not you like it, Hungary again is adopting a German commitment.

[Horn] My opinion is that Europe has ended up in a new situation, first and foremost in the wake of the changes that have taken place in Central-Eastern Europe. To me, by the way, it is not all the same whether we call it Eastern-Central Europe, or the reverse, Central-Eastern Europe. Hungary as a consequence of its geographical, geopolitical situation, its traditions, and traditional commitments, is by all means Central European. We use Eastern because its previous political commitment was Eastern. I consider this diversion to be important, because I view the greatest change of the past two-three years to lie in the fact that it has become more and more a Central European state.

It is not a matter of our having chosen some kind of orientation. Well, such opinions are voiced, indeed there are accusations from certain circles that we are linking the country's fate too much to Germany. I first take it as my point of departure that there are great traditions to Hungarian-German relations. Second, the FRG in the past years, indeed I might say in the past one and one-half decades, has pursued the most comprehensive policy vis-a-vis Hungary, moreover in very concrete terms, first and foremost in the sphere of building economic relations.

There are very many foreign policies; within this policy, we have been able to cooperate with the Germans in issues and concrete actions. Not, last, we have very often been able to join, primarily in the cultural sphere, the German processes, cultural processes that endeavored to strengthen Europe's cultural identity, as opposed to the excessive U.S. influence. So in my view, this is a natural process.

But this is not the decisive thing. What is decisive is that in accordance with a new situation, in my view our point of departure regarding a future orientation ought to be how we find our own place in this unified Europe, which I believe will come about.

[Havas] That was the opinion of Gyula Horn, the current Hungarian foreign minister. And what is the opinion of the MDF that, if true, soon will be a factor in government after the free elections? Denes Csengey.

[Csengey] I do not believe that the European situation is beginning to revert to the alliance frameworks before World War I or World War II. Those were unable to create a stable Europe. The Yalta agreement, by which the Four Powers resolved the situation of Europe, belongs to the past and was unable to create a Europe that was strong and a noteworthy factor in world politics. Therefore, our hitherto experience is that the Axis powers' little entente division does not result in a stable Europe, and the a Europe that was cut into two was a weak, secondary factor in world politics. These experiences cannot be avoided by the European peoples who are seeking their place in the process of rearrangement.

At the most, Hungary and a Hungarian politician, when finding bearings, might be slightly perplexed because the initial reflex, naturally, is a resumption of relations with the allies, discussion partners, which have turned out well, and in the 20th century we have not had relations that have turned out well; rather, they have turned out badly. Yet, we ought not, for this reason, have reservations regarding maintaining closer relations with Germany. At this moment, Germany does not threaten us. Rather, it promises help, economic help for the country's recovery, and political help for a loosening of the country's one-sided dependence on the East. I do not believe that anyone during the period of superpowers, even as a German politician, might foster illusions that regional power groupings could turn into factors [as heard]. Everyone must recognize that the chance for Europe, in concert, again to be a primary factor in world politics lies not as a melting pot of peoples like the United States, and not as a country that tramples the peoples and nationalities underfoot like the Soviet Union, but perhaps it can create a more lasting alliance that is more advantageous for everyone, on the basis of variety and

equality. It is not a gang that is taking shape here that wants to determine the fate of the world, but an association of free peoples, which wants to influence the world's fate.

[Havas] Laszlo Valki.

[Valki] I believe that the formula of: My God! What will happen in Europe, often turns up in public thought. A political power vacuum has been, or is being, created, and it is imagined that we are going back to where we began in 1939, or even the last century. I believe that decisive changes took place in numerous matters after World War II. Among these, I first mention the transformation of the entire structure of international economic relations. This current world economy cannot be compared to any previous world economy, primarily because the powers that were victorious in the war met in Breton Woods in 1944 and they said that mankind will perish if there is another world war. If we again allow a fascist Germany or any other similar dictatorship to be formed, mankind will perish, so we should create a qualitatively new system. This was when, as is generally known, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and their partners came about. Work began on eliminating customs barriers and rather good progress was made.

Regarding what Denes Czengey said, Germany has entered a process of integration that cannot be left now by a developed state under any circumstances; indeed, it cannot reduce its relations with [word indistinct] integration. According to all signs, East Germany will join this.

Nor can it be forgotten that there exists international capital, whatever sense this might be taken in. This international capital that is not the U.S. capital, is not specifically the German capital, but simply is multinational capital, which does not recognize the countries' borders.

Two other minor points. First, the nuclear era has developed. This means that if there are nuclear weapons in Europe and there also are nuclear weapons overseas, the possibility no longer exists that any important state or group of states might even have the slightest hope of engaging in war adventurism. That is precluded. I also wanted to say that this was a learning process that Europe, primarily Germany, went through. Very much has been learned in West Germany from the World War II, and they have not forgotten what they learned. The current leading West German elite thinks entirely differently, in a very European manner, and it is very willing to cooperate. As for the East German elite, which is now on the way up...

[Horn, interrupting] Nor do I consider it justified to constantly blame Germany, the current generation, too, for what happened in both world wars.

[Havas] I would not like us to omit important things, or omit discussing what was said in the past minutes. One thing is the spectre of nuclear war. Professor Laszlo Valki has said that it is a guarantee that, up to now, has ensured the continent's security. Recently I had the opportunity to speak with a Soviet expert who said, in connection with the danger existing in the USSR of a civil war, that a larger danger for the world than ever before is the question of who will obtain the 30,000 nuclear warheads about which a central, strong Moscow government had decided up to now. Henceforth, an Uzbekistan general, or a Russian general, or anyone can decide what it is fired at—not necessarily at Berlin or New York, but let us say Tajikistan. Are the politicians taking this danger into account?

Gyorgy Konrad shook his head. Is it a new idea or a surprising idea?

[Konrad] It is not a surprising idea. I do not know what the politicians are taking into account, because I am not among them. I think that this is a possibility that is newly arising. In the USSR, the Soviet ideology held together the various national republics. It is difficult to imagine what other means of linking them might arise, and the individual nations are reverting to their own nationalism. This means that many representatives of the Russian nation believe they have not fared well with the Soviet adventure, and there is a ready-made, potential reply to this: either to return to a Russian type of imperialism or to take cognizance of the changed facts and draw closer together the sphere of jurisdiction of the Russian nation. It is conceivable that in such a drama, since every decolonization is a dramatic process when the mechanisms of democratic control have not been developed, the temptation of a extreme nationalism and political hysteria might come to the fore. This political hysteria cannot be precluded, but it is not very probable, because if we were to take this thought further—the possible alternatives of Russian nationalism—I imagine that it too would undergo differentiation. A sort of thinking by a Russian national center can be envisioned that somehow understands that the place of the Russian nation is in the continuum that, in the final analysis, is determined by European culture. The British took their religion from the Mediterranean, and the West European ideals more or less permeated the Russian political elite over a long time. As compared to this, Russia can no longer offer a nationalistic alternative, so in a good instance we will face a situation where a region based more or less on contractual relations extends to the Pacific Ocean. In a bad instance, the possibility of civil wars might also arise, but I imagine that these can be localized.

[Havas] Denes Csengey has asked to speak, but beforehand, out of fear that the train of conversation might be diverted, I would like to ask the newly appointed head of the National Security Office what kind of philosophy he will adopt when starting work in his office. The fact is that you are the guarantors of the Hungarian nation's security in a new situation; up to now, we felt our security was endangered from the West.

[Nagy] The question is justified. Allow me to begin by saying that if Gyorgy Konrad is not a politician, I am even less so. Never was I, and nor am I, a professional politician, nor would I like to be when heading this office. Nonetheless, it is necessary for us to know the concept with which we are beginning to create a new organization; this cannot be independent of the political changes that are taking place at an accelerated pace nowadays.

I have not replied to a question—for which I would like to make up—regarding what the National Security Office deals with: counterespoinage, averting terrorism, the importance of which is increasing from day to day, as is the extent to which we are endangered, because the foreign minister obviously knows of the type of threatening letters our foreign representatives get nearly daily. There are serious forces behind these.

[Havas] Who are they; how can we find this out?

[Nagy] Well, I would not willingly name organizations, but it can be imagined well that they are primarily in the Middle East. And this is related to our having opened out toward Israel. Yet I know of other organizations, too, because—I do not know how to call it—the South African unofficial establishment of relations has already aroused the antipathy of an organization called a national liberation front, and (?it has sent) threatening letters, and even the establishment of relations with the Republic of South Korea has caused this type of thing.

The third task, alongside counterespionage and averting terrorism, is protecting the Constitution. I would like to describe this briefly because it is the most delicate task. By this I mean the investigation and localization of forces that illegally engage in organizing activities, attacks, against the prevailing constitutional order, those that are preparing for a violent overthrow. Turning to the concept, today the premier said to me that this should be an organization that is depoliticized, consists of experts and—to put it very briefly—one that keeps an equal distance from all the powers. What do I mean by this? Obviously, and it has already been said, in the near future this service will be have to be organized by a country that is becoming independent and neutral, not for the present, but for the future. This means that this service cannot fulfill certain tasks without a system of international relations. Terrorism is international. The fight against it requires an international joining of forces.

Up to now, owing to traditional reasons and following from our alliance affiliation, our system of relations, the international system of relations, was one-sided. Our task now is to cut back this one-sidedness to a level, and there exists such a level where international cooperation is necessary. Here, I am thinking primarily of averting terrorism, which does not spare national borders, and which works in close connection with drug trafficking, from where it gets material support, or from which its attackers are financed. And international arms trafficking is also such a sphere.

Therefore, we have to cut back, and this, let us say, has happened insofar as up to the time we get concrete government instructions pertaining to international relations, we have abolished all existing one-sidedness that is what existed until recently.

I have to say that I said goodbye today to my old workplace with a sad heart because I very much liked to work there, and I also liked my staff. Tomorrow, I will introduce myself at my new workplace. My first task will be to verify that the report that this has ceased to exist has really happened. Simultaneously, it is necessary to begin building work, to raise our international relations of a different slant to a level that promotes a serving of our national interests. Therefore, we will shape a system of relations, of equal level, in the service of national interests.

[Havas] Please let me ask a question. If I remember rightly, the penal code established that work done for a foreign government that violates national interests is evidence of high treason. Is it possible to comply with this requirement as long as the Soviet troops are stationed in Hungary?

[?Nagy] It is very difficult to comply with the laws nowadays. [words indistinct] slowly we will not have means of legal regulation, or these will be placed in the service of politics. Let me expound briefly on this. A deputy chief prosecutor approaches actions related to legal evidence by saying: Let us leave it to politics; there are many actions in which the state does not dare take a stand. There is an even greater danger that the state mechanism will disintegrate and we will end up in anarchic conditions. This must be organized, now, for the future, because the staff are not functioning, the use of secret service means is suspended, and inactivity is bad advice.

[Havas] Does this mean, for example, that such means cannot be used when surveillance is conducted by intelligence staff working in Hungary?

[Nagy] Unfortunately, yes.

[?Havas] That is very surprising, to me. Allow me to ask the foreign minister what his opinion is concerning this decision. I imagine that no one has seen it.

[Horn] To be precise, I am not familiar with the internal regulations or decisions that might have been taken. At the same time, I am in full agreement that when the democratic transition is under way, many dangers threaten this country, and I see the most decisive danger, here, to be the aforementioned danger of international terrorism.

[Havas] Up to now we have avoided it quite successfully.

[Horn] We have had to do quite a lot against international terrorism, and we have taken measures [words indistinct] because, for example, of our establishing diplomatic relations with Israel, and many other things. There have been serious, tough, personally addressed

threats on the part of various organizations, indeed countries. Therefore, it has been necessary to take action against these, or avert these. Second, if President No Tae-u visits us, it will be necessary to take extraordinary security measures for his safety. And not only has that happened a few times. The guests have wished for this, and this is how it will be in the future too. Look, for example, how in the FRG such a large security apparatus functions around the politicians, the members of government.

[Havas] Denes Csengey.

[Csengey] I would like to continue by saying that something has occurred to me upon hearing the talk about nuclear warheads getting into the republics' hands, but the same matter also arises in another regard. Not long ago the Soviet Union was a single dark red bloc, for the purposes of Hungarian foreign policy, and it was not very necessary for us to endeavor to shape relations—it shaped the relationship. Moreover, the relationship was one of our being an attendant. Now, however, and this is a brand-new situation, the question arises separately: What will be the separate diplomacy of Hungary, or a political party, vis-a-vis the endeavors of the Baltic republics, which the MDF supports, or what will be their diplomatic ideas vis-a-vis the endeavors of the southern, Muslim republics, in which we see there to be great dangers, etc. So Hungarian foreign policy will become differentiated.

What is more, what is taking shape, and several Baltic popular fronts have said so, is that they would like to join a possible Hungarian-Czechoslovak-Polish zone, or federation concept. The leaders of the Estonian Popular Front have proposed that these countries, including them, too, should appear with a joint and coordinated standpoint at the second Helsinki meeting that will be held in Paris at the end of the year.

[Havas] How realistic, or desirable, does the MDF consider this to be?

[Csengey] Further talks must be held on this. A coordination of views must continue. The commencing of integrative endeavors in Central-Eastern Europe is not nourished, so much, by a fear of German (?hegemony), but rather the region is trying to defend itself and keep itself far removed from the danger of explosion caused by the Soviet Union's domestic political conflicts. This is why it is trying to find a place in a larger bloc; naturally there are supporters from the Soviet republics for this type of federation concept.

Yet I do not mind Lajos Navy having had leave to speak in the meantime, because I also have to say that there was mention of international terrorism, and perhaps we, with slight exaggeration, could use the expression international terrorism when labeling the building of the Bolshevik empire. So there is a reason behind the reserved conduct of the staff that you [Lajos Nagy] inherited. Here, not only is it necessary to dispel misunderstandings concerning the functioning of internal security in this sphere. It is necessary here, definitively and radically, to break with the connections of the networks of the communist secret services, which will be all the more difficult since you are taking nearly the entire staff, and you are endeavoring to use them for a radically opposed task.

This staff's task up to now was to prevent, in an organized and coordinated manner, the assertion of national characteristics, the shaping and assertion of national endeavors. Now a radically opposed task must be carried out with this same staff. I will not be surprised if you take a breather between these two assignments.

[Havas] In the meantime, we must not pass by two very important things. I will hand the floor over to you now, to reply to Denes Csengey, but immediately afterwards I would like to ask Gyula Horn and Laszlo Valki about the extent to which a Central European confederation or federation is realistic. But first, Lajos Nagy should speak.

[Nagy] Mr. Denes Csengey is again thinking of internal counterintelligence because it was the task of this about which he was speaking. Intelligence never worked in this; counterespionage must change directions. Here too, we have to strive toward keeping an equal distance, which means that it is necessary to conduct counterespionage against the secret services of those countries whose spheres of interest we belong to. Among these are large powers, and there will also be neighboring countries. Allow me to say that the differences of interest that existed up to now between the countries were merely suppressed. Now they are surfacing, and they will appear in this form.

Every country will be interested in the neighboring country from a viewpoint different than before. The staff that I am taking over has been involved in counterespionage and averting terrorism. The foreign minister can give examples of this; this work cannot be brought to the surface, even subsequently, if something has been averted. If this has not been successful then there is trouble; then it is not the reconnaissance division dealing with averting terrorism that has work, but the police commando unit because the action has occurred.

[Havas] Of course, there was another edge to Denes Csengey's question concerning your having been given a ready-made staff. Obviously, Csengey was thinking that only God knows the extent to which it will be suited to becoming such a depoliticized organization and does not select between the possible directions.

[?Csengey] Allow me to specify briefly: I of course know that internal counterintelligence and counterespionage were not the same organization in the previous structure of the Interior Ministry, but according to my information, counterespionage produced one to two spy trials annually that were not made public, and in which charges of spying were collected against persons who were deemed undesirable for internal political reasons.

So there was a kind of cooperation between the internal counterintelligence and counterespionage, and I could extend this, along these lines, as far as the KGB, of course. I have advised that these must be radically cut.

[Nagy] Thank you for [word indistinct] concerning the organization. Allow me to say that even up to now, there was no situation in international relations where a counterespionage officer maintained relations with a counterespionage officer from another country. There always was a level for this. In our country this was so, if I go from the top down, down to the level of head of department, inclusive. Now, until the new situation has developed and been clarified, I will take this upon myself. Therefore, without my knowledge, this organization will not be able to maintain or develop international relations in any direction. Nor will it do so. It will build these with my knowledge and in the direction that is necessary.

I do not know of any Hungarian citizen who has been sentenced for spying activity where this is not proved legally. Otherwise, the number of these is not large. Altogether, there now are two people in prison, let us say for spying activity carried out vis-a-vis one large power. I am saying this because this, unfortunately, has not received enough publicity because we handled it as a very, very delicate issue, and we always kept it secret. However, elsewhere very great significance and publicity is given to this—for example, the Konrad affair and its impacts. Perhaps I am saying something ....

[Havas, interrupting] You are not talking about Gyoergy Konrad.

[Nagy] Excuse me, I am not talking about Gyoergy Konrad, but about the affair of the American sergeant. [laughter and indistinct comments]

[?Konrad] Allow me to inquire further. As head of the national Security Office, you will be competent in the matter of antiterrorist [as heard] and anti-constitutional actions. What kind of authorization to survey the existing parties does this constitute?

[Nagy] None. And allow me to add: the depoliticization of this organization means that if it is up to me, a member of this organization cannot belong to any party. Naturally, the way he votes is his private affair. It is a secret matter and a free matter, too. I cannot find out and must not decide or say who should vote for whom. Mr. Premier asked me to keep this organization far removed from the parties, and I would like to request here that the parties also keep themselves far removed from this organization. In that case, it never will get entangled in internal political affairs.

[Havas] Gyula Horn.

[Horn] I should like to say the following in connection with what Denes Csengey has said on relations with the Soviet Union. I would not consider it entirely realistic if we were to begin reckoning time as from—let us say—October 1989, or perhaps from April 1990. Before then, and now as well, much has happened in the interest of changing relations with the USSR. I would like to recall, for example, that when he was the boss in Georgia, Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze was the one who created the very definitively, very comprehensively functioning inter-Caucasian society that developed direct relations with Hungary in spite of the fact that Moscow headquarters criticized this very vigorously; indeed, it wanted to prevent this. But I could continue by saying that we have had long-standing relations with the Ukraine and other republics, the Baltics, and we have had relations with the most various organizations, economic institutions, political organizations. So this is not a brand new thing. At the same time, it is entirely true that this encountered enormous difficulties because the Moscow decision-making center always tried to curb these. Therefore, these things have a past.

I also agree [word indistinct], that if we want to diversify our relations in the West, or more widely in the world, we must do the same thing in the direction of the Soviet Union, too. Moreover, it is necessary to extend relations, to adapt these to what has taken shape and accords with Hungarian interests.

Regarding the confederation or a kind of regional cooperation, it has been voiced rather frequently, for example, that there might be some kind of closer alliance between Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland, and perhaps the Baltic republics might join. Perhaps I am a spoilsport, but I am not much of a believer in this. I will explain why: It does not prevent us from having a closer, political consultative system with, for example, Poland and Czechoslovakia, but I see the path of the future to lie, rather, in our striving to cooperate as closely as possible with the productive societies. At the moment, I do not see there to be a guarantee of productivity in this mentioned group of countries. Therefore, I would like, no matter what government might be in power in the coming years after April, for us to turn, primarily, toward these countries. For Hungary, it is a basic matter that we should, for example, be associated members of the EEC, at least in the first phase; that the Council of Europe should admit us among its members; that we should take steps toward a number of integrative organizations. There is no (?sense) in our linking the Hungarian economy with the Polish economic bankruptcy. This does not mean that we will not consult, that we will not closely cooperate politically, when possible; but this is not where I see the path of the nation, the country, to lie.

Allow me to add something. The current situation in the Soviet Union is terribly difficult and very contradictory. Here, from Budapest, I do not see a solution in these republics breaking off, one after the other, from the Soviet Union. Just think, alternating according to republic, in the Baltic republics 30-40 percent of the population are Russian. What will they do, what will they say if a Baltic republic legally and formally separates from the Russian federation and the other republics? Of

course, where they end up is their affair. But I would have great difficulty in envisioning this. I see the future, rather, to lie in rearranging the relationships of these republics with the others, with the federation. They must conclude new agreements that ensure them maximum independence but where in certain basic matters they coordinate their policies, and they do not separate formally, legally, from this system. [sentence as heard]

[Havas] Do you know whether there exists a concrete idea for this transformation?

[Horn] One exists. As far as I am acquainted with Gorbachev's journey, true it has not been very successful, Gorbachev has also reached the point of recognizing that the relationship with these republics must be rearranged. This also means that the republics must have an independent currency, stock exchange. By the way, let us just remember the Austro-Hungarian monarchy: there were both schillings and crowns, and this did not prevent close cooperation between the two countries, far from it.

Otherwise, I fear that we might support and strengthen separatist endeavors, and we must not do so, because this would constitute serious dangers for us, for the Hungarian interests.

[Havas] I entirely agree with the first part of the train of thought. We want to establish links and enter into integration with the societies that are capable of functioning, just as all the other Central East European countries, and just like the aforementioned republics, the ones we are talking about. All I would like to add to this is that if the Central East European states become scuffling contestants among themselves, then for their own part they will indeed create the possibility of bringing into being a system of zones of influence corresponding to the European member states between the two world wars. The way I would safeguard against this is that, while not renouncing rapprochement towards the West, we should strive to coordinate this rapprochement and not conduct it against one another.

And the other thing—I, too, would have been curious to ask this question: What do you think about the endeavors of certain Soviet republics? Because I see Hungarian foreign policy, if you permit this comparison, as a piece of saline land plowed by the plowman—this was the Brezhnev doctrine. Then, all of a sudden oil erupted in the middle of the land—this was the shaking of the Yalta status quo. And you, with all the knack of an expert of the oil drilling trade, developed the oil exploitation, but the oil kept on coming. Federative concepts from Czechoslovakia and from Poland keep coming. The oil keeps on coming...

[Horn] [words indistinct] What we began last November, an Italian-Austrian-Yugoslav-Hungarian regional cooperation, which extends to practically every sphere of life. I see enormous possibilities in this in every field from the political to the environmental. Even Czechoslovakia could join in this; what is more, the Italians did actually propose to the Czechs that they might join.

[Havas] We have hardly any time left, and before Denes Csengey replies, before Gyoergy Konrad...

[Horn, interrupting] I would like to just say that the way I imagine the Europe of the future is that regional groupings could exist within it; what is more, it is virtually certain that they will come into being in the natural course of things. And these will not endanger the Europe of the future.

[Havas] I was not contrasting this horizontal orientation to the Western orientation.

[?Csengey] I totally agree with Gyula Horn when he talks about the direction in which Hungarian foreign policy should go. And obviously he was thinking in this regard, first and foremost, about Hungarian external trade policy. I would like to add one more argument to what he has said. In order for us to be able to change the Hungarian economic system, in other words the structure itself, it is not enough to enact here at home a new enterprise law, to pass new bills, let us say about the company law, share companies and others. What this needs is for some kind of force, and this can only be an economic force, to break apart the post-Stalinist economic system that exists at present. This force—in this I agree with Gyula Horn—this force can come only from Europe for the simple reason that there is free capital there, and I could say that there is a considerable capital surplus in West Europe and in other regions of the West as well. In addition, there they have the skills with which the market economy can be brought into being. [passage omitted]

The other thing is that all this really does not exclude the possibility of any other kind of cooperation. I can say from my personal experience of two and a half decades that when I visit some international conference, or when foreigners come to Hungary, it is not possible to meet any experts other than Soviets there. [passage omitted]

My third and last observation is this. We have frequently been hearing—and perhaps Gyoergy Konrad will not agree with me in this, I don't know yet—the Central European idea that many people today support. I believe that the Central European countries finding each other culturally will be an enormous thing. And this will certainly come about because we are connected by an enormous number of common historical threads, historical memories, and we are connected by reflexes springing from historical memories. But this intertwining, this cultural, spiritual, scholastic intertwining, does not in the slightest exclude the economic opening that many of us have already talked about here.

[Havas] Gyoergy Konrad.

[Konrad] There is no disagreement between us. In spite of this, I think that apart from the economic integration there are other planes of integration, too. Among others, that we have similar problems, similar prospects, and that we are emerging from similar things. This, at all events, justifies an exchange of views, both in the area of

political consultation and of cultural information. So I think that, figuratively speaking, perhaps a cultural confederation would be the real embodiment of cooperation. That does not in any way exclude the gradual integration of the whole region into the developed West European economic region. [passage omitted]

But perhaps if we develop a common attitude, and in this I agree with Denes Csengey, if we do not push away each other's outstretched hands, then we could have a chance for a grander, more majestic integration than if we competed separately with the greater powers. I also consider necessary the development of a system of relations of very many directions; that is to say West Europe, America, the Far East, and within the Soviet Union itself, the countries that stand closer to us spiritually. Very important here is the development of relations with the Ukraine, from the viewpoint of the Magyars living in Sub-Carpathia. But also very interesting would be an Armenian-Georgian cultural sphere, which could be close to us in many respects.

[Horn] Let me just add that I entirely agree with what Gyoergy Konrad has said, and it is this. We have already proposed earlier the creation of an all-European human rights observation, so-called monitoring, and, if need be, sanctioning, center. I have to say that on that occasion we were left entirely by ourselves with this proposal within the Warsaw Pact. What is more, they described us as heretics and I don't know what else. Whereas, we know how and how gravely human rights are being violated in many various countries. I would connect one more thing with this: that in Europe the manner of treating the minorities and nationalities has always been one of the sources of conlficts. For this reason, also, it would be necessary to bring this into being.

[?Csengey] It is not possible that in an hour-long conversation we should not speak about this. Because, from a certain point of view, the emerging prospect that German unity can be reassuring for Europe is also due to the fact that a people that has been cleft in two, that has been held up in its elemental national endeavors, can attain a balanced state—and there will be one less national tension in Europe. [sentence as heard] As we weigh up the possibility of a united Europe, and the possibility of a Central East European federation, we have to take into account the fact that the Hungarian republic, and all its politicians and all its intellectuals, are answerable to our brothers who live in the minority ranks and who trust in us. [passage omitted]

To what extent we will succeed in realizing the Central East European federation, we will be able to measure by the fate of the minorities. And the new situation can give us a new approach also in our policy of protecting the minorities. After all, the reason why we want human rights and collective minority rights, even collective minority rights going as far as political autonomy, is not because Magyars are more dear to us than any other. They are not more dear, but neither are they less dear. And we would like to eliminate a tension because while this tension exists we can only talk about a united Europe, without getting nearer to it. [passage omitted]

[Havas] Our time has nearly run out, so I will ask only a few concrete questions, and ask for brief replies. There recently has been great speculation concerning the speed with which Soviet troops will be withdrawn from Hungary. If I am right, this soon will be settled in a bilaterl agreement. What can be learned about this? Mr. Foreign Minister.

[Horn] We would like to come to agreement by the very beginning of March. There exists the political will on the Soviet side that we should bring about the intergovernmental agreement. By then, the concrete timetable for the troops withdrawal would be prepared; here, we invariably insist that there should be a full withdrawal this year, or if this cannot be carried out technically, it should take place in the first months of next year.

[Havas] A question for Lajos Nagy. An enormous number of people ask what is happening with the Securitate agents who worked here? They cannot go home, because they would not be welcomed with open arms, and many people believe that they simply are enjoying themselves here and are functioning undisturbed.

[Nagy] Inasmuch as I am familiar with this matter, not only here in our country, but in Western countries, they are still sitting in their places of cover in unchanged numbers. For example, there are Securitate members concealed in foreign representations, or functioning at firms created in the form of mixed enterprise, fnd they are waiting to receive orders to be reactivated. And there is a good chance that they might be reactivated.

There is a big error in this issue. It is believed that the Securitate was destroyed, the part of the Securitate that fought with armed forces.

[Havas] The visible part...

[Nagy, interrupting] and the III-3—I do not how they were called—that is the internal counterintelligence was destroyed. The Army immediately took over intelligence and counterespionage, and brought them under the wing of defense.

[Havas] So let us conclude here; obviously you will be very busy.

[Nagy] I am certain of that.

[Havas] Thank you, you have heard the program "Firsthand Information." Our guests were Foreign Minister Gyula Horn; Lajos Nagy, head of the Hungarian National Security Office; Gyorgy Konrad, writer, on behalf of SZDSZ; Denes Csengey, writer, on behalf of MDF; and Prof. Laszlo Valki.

Democratic Forum Rally Calls for Price Freezes

LD1502135990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] We have news about several electoral rallies. The Hungarian Democratic Forum continues to demand an immediate price freeze. Presidium member Lajos Fuer, at his electoral rally in Sarospatak, says this is because price increases could sweep the untroubled holding of the first free elections into danger. According to Fuer, only a well-thought-out, thoroughly checked, and patiently implemented restructuring can bring results.

Agreement Creates 14-Year Debt Rescheduling

LD1602213890 Warsaw PAP in English 1936 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Paris, Feb. 16 (PAP)—An agreement between Poland and the 17 countries grouped in the Paris Club of creditors was signed here in small hours on Friday after two days and nights of intensive negotiations.

The agreement provides for rescheduling of nearly $10 billion of the Polish debts, due to be paid by March 1, 1991, over 14 years with an 8-year period of grace.

This means that for the first eight years Poland will pay only interest on the $10 billion and the principal should be repaid within the next six years.

The agreement provides that Poland will pay no money owed to the creditor countries within the coming year.

According to the Paris Club estimates, Poland owes $27 billion to the member countries.

The agreement concerns medium- and long-term credits.

Head of the Paris Club Jean Cla..de Trichet chaired the debates and Poland's Finance Vice Minister Janusz Sawicki headed the Polish delegation.

The final communique reads that the representatives of the 17 member states of the club took into account efforts taken by Poland's government with a view to restoring economy as well as historic significance of the great transformations now under way in the Polish economy. They received with satisfaction the Polish Government's economic programme supported also by the International Monetary Fund.

Chairman of the Paris Club Jean Claude Trichet said at a press conference that the rescheduling of repayment of the Polish debts of nearly $10 billion is the most flexible option possible. It is the most generous agreement reached so far by the Paris Club with its debtors. It indicates the confidence the government heads and finance ministers from the 17 countries have in Poland, he said.

Trichet added that the agreement is of a unique character, the most generous one the Paris Club could have selected. It is a sign of appreciation for Balcerowiczi plan, its assumptions, the hitherto implementation and first positive effects.

Next meetings of the Paris Club on Polish debts are certain to take place. Their course will depend on the implementation of Balcerowiczi plan, Jean Claude Trichet stated.

Vice Minister Janusz Sawicki told newsmen that the agreement is the best one Poland could reach at the moment. The negotiations just ended should be viewed in the context of the letter sent by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki a week ago to the government heads of the 17 countries. Thus the agreement just signed is as if a response of those countries to the premier's letter, he stated.

Vice Minister Sawicki also pointed out that the problem of reduction of the Polish debt remains open. The agreement is the first step in that direction although it does not include yet elements of the debt reduction about which premier wrote in his letter.

In tune with Tadeusz Mazowiecki's suggestion included in the letter, the Paris Club decided also to set up a special working team which would in consultation with Polish experts consider a possibility for an agreement on reduction of the Polish debt in cooperation with the International Monetary Fund.

Finance Ministry Official on Debt Repayment

LD1902212190 Warsaw PAP in English 1744 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 19—In an interview granted to PAP, director of the Foreign Department of the Ministry of Finance Jan Boniuk stated in part:

"Poland has basically met the key conditions for creditor states to approach the problem of our debt and financial cooperation in a new way. At issue was first and foremost the approval of the adjustment program by the International Monetary Fund and reaching agreement with the Paris Club which took place last week.

"Poland's overall debt in hard currency totals about 40 billion dollars of which 27 billion are associated with credits guaranteed by the governments of 17 western countries (the Paris Club) and the interest on them. About 9 billion dollars is debt owed to western commercial banks (the London Club) and 4 billion dollars falls to other creditors, including dollar debts owed to the Soviet Union and CMEA banks.

"Last week the Polish delegation held talks with the Paris Club on payments of government-guaranteed credits falling on 1989-1990 totalling about 9.5 billion dollars. By the way, about 3.4 billion dollars of this sum are principle while 6.1 billion dollars are interest.

"A conversion of this debt took place as a result of the agreement in Paris. On the one hand it was treated as a uniform obligation, on the other hand the Club set out the terms of its repayment. We will start repaying this sum after 8 years, in other words in 1999. This repayment was spread over 12 half-year installments. Hence it will be completed after another six years."

Mazowiecki Economic Reforms Gain Support Abroad

AU2002140490 Paris AFP in English 1250 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 20 (AFP)—World Bank President Barber Conable was to arrive here later on Tuesday [20

February] against a background of a rapidly increasing flow of financial aid intended to assist Poland in converting its socialist economy into a market-orientated mechanism. Mr. Conable was due to sign two loans by the bank totalling $360 million.

A source close to the bank said the loans were intended to show the support of the international financial community for the "courageous" economic reforms introduced by the noncommunist government headed by Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

Mr. Conable, whose visit was to last three days, was due also to discuss the terms of aid of up to $2.5 billion lasting three years, the source said.

Within the space of a few days, Poland has obtained a stand-by credit of $723 million from the IMF, and from an unprecedented rescheduling of $9.4 billion of public debt during a period of 14 years in the context of overall public debt of $27 billion.

Western sources and Polish officials estimate that some 20 Western countries, and international organisations such as the EEC and IMF have made available aid totalling about $10 billion.

The aid, some of which is spread over many years, takes many forms. It includes emergency food aid, gifts in kind, technical assistance, loans, guaranteed export credits, and a contribution to a fund to stabilise the currency. Much of this assistance was dependent upon approval by the IMF which approved at the beginning of the month a program for restructuring the economy.

The plan was drafted by Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz. Its main aim is to strangle hyperinflation and to rectify the budget deficit by conventional treatment which is expected to push the level of unemployment up to about 1.7 million in coming months.

A source close to the World Bank said: "The requirements are immense, in every field—infrastructure, communications, energy, training, aid for agriculture, the sale of state-owned assets to the private sector..."

The source said that the bank had two main concerns. These were to protect the environment and to ensure that there was a "safety net" to cope with the social consequences of the reform programme, and particularly to re-train people who became unemployed.

The newspaper of the Solidarity movement, GAZETA, has reported that six program costing about one $1 billion should be negotiated with the World Bank in the next few months. These sums involved would break down as follows: ecology $15 million, modernisation of transport $150 million, increases in energy production $250 million, support for economic reforms $300 million, modernisation of communications $100 million, and the restructuring of industry $200 million.

The two loans due to be signed here with Mr. Conable on Thursday are intended to provide finance of $260 million for the development of industrial exports, and of $100 million for the food industry.

A senior Polish official responsible for economic affairs said: "We are very grateful for this massive aid from the West, which comes close to what we had hoped for, but we must not become an assisted country. "The aid must have the effect of a launch pad, by creating an environment such that the market mechanisms can takeover."

Solidarity 80 Criticizes Balcerowicz's Program

LD1302195390 Warsaw PAP in English 1626 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Szczecin, Feb. 13—The Provisional Board of the Solidarity 80 Trade Union here, competitive to the Solidarity, adopted a stand critical of Vice Premier Leszek Balcerowicz's programme of economic reforms and state finances.

In public feeling, reads the document conveyed to the Sejm and Poland's Government, the programme does not meet expectations pinned on it. It treats the economic crisis selectively making the elimination of inflation the primary goal.

Finance Minister Balcerowicz on State of Economy

LD1802235590 Warsaw PAP in English 2030 GMT 18 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 18—Following are excerpts of an interview granted by Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz to PAP:

Symptoms of a stifling of inflation are appearing earlier than expected. I am nonetheless far from 'calling victory.' The experience of other countries show that a too early easing of rigors can turn quick success into an equally quick failure. The hard currency market has already become the bright spot. We set the exchange rate perfectly.

For the first time in decades a consumer's market has surfaced. It is true however that trade and its organizations have turned out to be a weak spot.

We are also observing the effects of the program on the labour market. Concealed unemployment is disappearing. Real unemployment is surfacing and it can be considerable in certain periods. The strengthening of the zloty is equally important.

I do not think that there is currently a need to correct the stabilization program.

Taking into account its to-date course I do not corrently foresee any "price hike" of the sources of energy and the key raw materials. I also think that it will be able to defend the exchange rate of the zloty.

We observe the phenomena taking place in agriculture attentively. We do not want to lead it outside the framework of the market system.

I think that the successful implementation of the anti-inflation program will remove the major hardships. Namely the fast growth of prices and widespread shortages on the market. Co-production disturbances between enterprises will also decrease considerably.

One will however have to wait longer for a revival of production and a clear improvement of the living standard as these depend on transformations of the economic system. Particularly changes in ownership relations, a setting up of authentic competition and changes in the structure of economy. It will be impossible to end these processes in a few months. We will nonetheless pursue them at the biggest rate possible.

200 Demonstrate in Katowice Main Square 13 Feb

LD1302230990 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] This afternoon a rally was held in the Katowice Main Square. About 200 people, who met on the initiative of the fighting Solidarity, chanted slogans calling for a fight with the remnants of communism and criticized the government's current actions, as well as the current situation in Solidarity led by Lech Walesa. Those gathered demanded the abolition of the roundtable agreements, the resignation of the president, and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland.

Fighting Solidarity Protests Jaruzelski Visit

LD2002224490 Warsaw PAP in English 2140 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Szczecin, Feb. 20—Some 100 young men tried to stage a demonstration in front of the Pomeranian Princes' Castle here where President Wojciech Jaruzelski was meeting with representatives of the opinion-making groups in the area.

The participants in the demonstration, representing the Polish Socialist Party, "Solidarnosc Walczaca" (Fighting Solidarity) and KPN Confederation of Independent Poland, shouted slogans "Jaruzelski must go," "Nurnberg was for Nazis, what for Communists?" "Without sovereign Poland there is no free Europe" and "Punish the criminals."

Participates in Warsaw Demonstration

LD2102005690 Warsaw PAP in English 2222 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 20—The Fighting Solidarity, Solidarity-80, inter-city anarchists, Front of Social Liberation and Polish Party for Independence started their [as received] another demonstration in Warsaw with a rally held in the centre of the town.

Chairman of the Mazowsze regional provisional committee of "Solidarity-80" Seweryn Jaworski demanded a change in the direction of reforms in Poland—diminishing the inflow of foreign capital and introducing employees' shares as the only form of enterprise's ownership.

Those gathered at the rally next moved towards the building of the Sejm (lower house of parliament) chanting such slogans as "down with the authorities," "down with commune," "stop agreements with the reds," or "stop price hikes." The demonstrators demanded resignation of President Jaruzelski, Premier Mazowiecki and Vice-Premier Balcerowicz.

When the group reached the Sejm building they met a police cordon and raised another slogan: "Down with Kiszczak" (internal affairs minister).

Despite earlier announcements that it was to be a peaceful demonstration, the protesters tried to break the cordon, threw stones and smoke grenades at the policemen. After a few minutes the demonstrators got impatient with the police's passiveness and decided to march to the building of the Finance Ministry in the Swietokrzyska Street.

In the Swietokrzyska Street, the demonstrators sat down on the roadway blocking the traffic. The young men were waiting for the police to arrive and when the police cars pulled to a stop at some distance from the demonstrators they attacked the cars with stones and bottles with gasoline. The police left the place without intervention, which made the demonstrators disperse. They are planning another brawl for this February 23.

Mazowiecki's UK Visit Achieves Objectives

Political Ties Confirmed

AU1902171390 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 15 Feb 90 p 4

[Ewa Boniecka commentary]

[Text] One must say that the chief objectives of Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki's three-day visit to Great Britain were met. From a bilateral perspective, the visit confirmed the closeness of political ties and both countries' understanding of the need to restructure Europe. As far as an expansion of economic cooperation is concerned, the UK side promised further aid and support for Polish endeavors. The most important, and, in a certain sense, an unexpected feature of the visit were the talks about the unification of Germany. Premier Mazowiecki's proposal that Poland take part in the conference of the six countries took the UK public by surprise.

Meetings with the Polish community were a separate and final chapter of the visit.

The Polish premier's visit to Ambassador Edward Raczynski has a certain significance here. The same applies to the warm reception accorded to him during a meeting

with the Polish community at Hammersmith's Town Hall on Tuesday afternoon. The questions he was asked during this meeting were frequently the same as the ones he had been asked at a news conference earlier. The meeting was also attended by many members of the Polish Government in exile as well as by the most distinguished activists of many Polish emigre organizations. The fact that the premier never met Ryszard Kaczorowski, the current president of the Polish Republic in exile, did not allay the convictions of emigre Poles that a new chapter of mutual cooperation is opening.

Last Day in London Reported

AU2002105790 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 15 Feb 90 p 5

[PAP report: "Nothing Concerning Poland Should Be Decided Without Poland"]

[Text] London—The three-day official visit to Great Britain by Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish Republic, at the invitation of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, ended on Wednesday.

The visit brought about a major rapprochement between Poland and Great Britain, as well as a complete understanding of each country's stance on the subject of the most important international affairs today.

On Wednesday morning, Tadeusz Mazowiecki met with Edward Raczynski, leader of the Polish community in Great Britain, with whom he held a direct and frank conversation. [Raczynski was ambassador to UK at end of World War II and became president of government in exile following this term of office]

Next, he visited the underground wartime headquarters of Winston Churchill and the UK Government near Whitehall, after which he held a one-and-one-half- hour meeting with Cardinal Basil Hume, archbishop of Westminster. Next, the Polish prime minister was received by the heir to the throne, Charles, Prince of Wales, at St. James's Palace.

At the Foreign Office, Premier Mazowiecki held talks with Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd.

Premier Mazowiecki invited the foreign secretary to visit Poland soon.

In the afternoon, Premier Mazowiecki went to the Polish Embassy, where he held a news conference.

Asked whether the expression he had used in his Guildhall speech, "nothing concerning Poland should be decided without Poland," meant that he rejects the Ottawa decisions of the six foreign ministers, Mazowiecki replied: "No, I do not reject them. I am merely adding to them. The communique (from the Ottawa meeting) says that the talks are also supposed to deal with the security of Germany's neighbors. Therefore it is natural that in additon to whoever else attends these talks, Poland must do so."

Before flying back to Warsaw, Premier Mazowiecki laid a wreath at the memorial to Polish airmen at Northolt.

In the evening, he arrived back in Warsaw. In a conversation with journalists, he praised the results of his talks with British politicians.

Mazowiecki Discusses Ozwiecim With Bronfman

LD1902185290 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Edgar Bronfman is visiting Poland. The chairman of the World Jewish Congress today paid a visit to President Wojceich Jaruzelski and Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki. After the hour-long meeting, Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Edgar Bronfman made short statements:

[Begin recording] [Mazowiecki] It is with great satisfaction that I met today with the president of the World Jewish Congress, Mr. Bronfman, whose visit in Poland is regarded by us to be very important. I express here the intention of the Polish Government that all Polish-Jewish affairs be arranged successfully and that all irritations in this area be removed. We spoke about this, and in particular we expressed the conviction that the laying today of the foundation stone beneath the center in Oswiecim constitutes the beginning of the resolution of this matter as it was agreed. An expression of the Polish Government's attitude toward this is the presence of a representative of the Polish Government at this ceremony. In general, I also want to say that the attitude of the Polish Government on matters of anti-Semitism and the overcoming of all its manifestations is clear and decisive. We are decisively opposed to all manifestations of anti-Semitism and we feel that they must be countered by all means in the sphere of upbringing. In today's discussion, we also touched on other matters, especially with regard to the changing European situation on the German question. I presented the Polish stance on these matters to my guest. I believe that I encountered much understanding.

[Bronfman, in English, with superimposed Polish translation] Thank you, Mr. Prime Minister. First of all, it is a great pleasure, even though I have been here before, to be a guest in the country where the process of democratizing Europe began. I put my name to what the premier has said. I hope that there will ensue an improvement of relations between Poles and Jews, and also between Poland and the United States. [end recording]

Walesa Reportedly Calls for 'Dictatorship'

LD1602230490 Warsaw PAP in English 2145 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Stockholm. Feb. 16: (PAP) Poland is in need of a dictatorship, said Lech Walesa in a conversation with a

correspondent of the Scandinavian largest evening newspaper, EXPRESSEN, S Lasse Persson, published today.

Walesa complained people cursed and booed him when he spoke of the need for reforms. For the time being, however. They are still with me but shortly they will start hitting me. Pluralism and freedom do not fit in the situation of today, Walesa stated.

This situation calls for a strong government. What we do need indeed is a dictatorship or a strong regime which would require of people to work hard and which would be able to make them do it.

Walesa said moreover that although the communist party dissolved itself, yet the communist system, this wasteful monster which had been destroying us for 40 years, stayed behind. This is a tremendous problem. We are not in a position to change it ourselves. It is only through Western assistance that we can reform our country. Walesa also opined that half of Eastern Europe's population wil relocate to the West, if the system does not change.

Call for Dictatorship Denied

LD1902214890 Warsaw PAP in English 1926 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 19—Press spokesman for the Solidarnosc chairman Jaroslaw Kurski sent the following statement to the Polish press agency, PAP:

"TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA" daily and "SZTANDAR MLODYCH" (youth newspaper) today published a short report (SZTANDAR MLODYCH did not quote PAP) citing an alleged statement Lech Walesa had made for the correspondent of the daily "EXPRESSEN" in Poland Lars Persson. The Solidarnosc chairman was reported as saying that "Poland is in need of a dictatorship or a strong regime which will make people work and will be able to force them into doing that."

In this connection I state that such a statement was not made by Lech Walesa. None of the quoted sentences was uttered during the interview. There were not any formulations either which could make such generalizations possible.

True is only the fact that Lech Walesa gave such an interview to the "EXPRESSEN." This interview was held on February 7 1990. The press bureau is in possession of a recorded tape of this conversation.

Daily Cites Soviet Troop Withdrawal Offer

AU2002105090 Paris AFP in English 1028 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 20 (AFP)—The Red Army would like to pull out of Poland, General Dubinin, head of the Army's northern group, was quoted as saying by the Solidarity daily GAZETA [as received] on Tuesday [20 February].

The Red Army has 50,000 men officially based in Poland.

"The Red Army is in favour of pulling out of Poland. The decision is up to the government. We are only here to back up our troops in East Germany (380,000 men)", the general reportedly said during a visit on Sunday by President Wojciech Jaruzelksi to a Soviet Army airborne unit in western Poland.

The Soviet Union recently said it was ready to negotiate the departure of its troops, if Poland made the request. A large body of opinion in Poland, headed by Solidarity leader Lech Walesa, has been calling for a rapid withdrawal of the Soviet troops. But the Warsaw government has reserved judgement, saying that such a withdrawal should only be within a new framework of European security.

Michnik Criticizes Soviet 'Buffer Zone' Theory

LD2002140690 Warsaw PAP in English 1204 GMT 20 Feb 90

["What Next With Russia?, Michnik Asks"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 20—The GAZETA WYBORCZA Solidarity daily printed today excerpts from Adam Michnik's article published in the latest issue of the MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI weekly.

Anufriyev, second secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party [CP] CC [Central Committee], openly stated that the present Political Bureau headed by Gorbachev should be changed since it has not enough power to decide about the state's future, Michnik wrote in the Soviet magazine.

Why? Because somebody has to take responsibility for the developments in Eastern Europe, Michnik continued. "They have demolished our buffer zone, Anufriyev complained, and today they put forward territorial and financial claims, attack consulates, desecrate graves of our soldiers and our sacred things, humilate our great country. And we again pump hundreds of millions there stealing from our own nation. We host various mazowieckis" (written with small letter).

Desecration of soldiers' graves is always hooliganism either they are Red Army soldiers' graves in Poland or graves of Polish soldiers in the USSR, Michnik commented on Anufriyev's statement.

Reducing processes going on in Europe to anti-Soviet excesses is equal to demonstrating pitiful lack of competences, he went on. Calling a sovereign European state a "buffer zone" is equal to demonstrating one's own imperial psychology.

As a Sejm deputy, I want to declare that while respecting national dignity of Russians and all other USSR nations, I demand respect for Poles' national pride, Michnik

stated in the MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI. We will never permit anybody to call our country a "buffer zone" to another state.

And one thing more, Adam Michnik added. Writing the name of my country's premier in plural brings Stalinist trials to my mind and proves quite exceptional coarse manners. And besides, we, Poles start people's names (not only of premiers) with a capital letter. It seems that Kazakhstan CP CC secretaries practise different ortography.

I am far from wanting to interfere with the USSR internal affairs. If I write about USSR ambassador to Poland Wladimir Brovikov's statement though, it is not in order to defend Gorbachev's policy frontally attacked by the ambassador.

I will only notice, Michnik wrote, that calling tolerance towards those thinking in other way "irresolution and helplessness in fighting anti-state actions" provokes a question: What are the ambassador's positive proposals? We know each other, so I ask you openly: What do you want? Trials and prison camps instead of tolerance? Sending Professor Sakharov to Gorkiy again? Is that what you miss, Mr. Ambassador? What else do you offer to people besides nostalgia for the epoch of fear?

You sneer at the critical assessment of Stalinism calling this a "fashion to ascribe all our misfortunes to the 'condemned past'". Do you really think that the democratic transformation deserves condemnation more than the Stalinist genocide? And thinking that, do you intend to be a good ambassador of your country in Poland? I assure you that Poles will not accept that language, Adam Michnik stated in the Soviet weekly.

These are fundamental questions for Poland, he wrote in the GAZETA WYBORCZA today. What road will Russia choose? Will a new model of a multinational state be worked out or will particular republics transform into sovereign states? How will relations be modelled among Russia and the countries in central and Eastern Europe?

One thing seems undisputable, also for the Warsaw-Moscow relations, namely seeking a new shape of relations among states and nations must be carried out by means of a partnership dialogue and with conviction of the common character of the primary goal, that is building democratic order in that part of the world, Michnik stated.

Any attempt to return to the principles of the great power dictatorship or to move political debate into the world of demagogy and street emotions may lead to hatred and intolerance, to military intervention, to violence and blood. It depends on all of us whether we are able to avoid it, Adam Michnik concluded.

Prospects for German Reunification Assessed

Kwasniewski Presents Views

LD1802234990 Warsaw PAP in English 2052 GMT 18 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 18—Following a meeting of the leadership of the SDRP, Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland, its chairman Aleksander Kwasniewski delivered the following statement:

"It is obvious that the prospect of a united Germany stirs lively interest among all Poles. At the same time concern for Poland's security and the permanence of its borders is understandable. We acknowledge the right of Germans to self-determination. At the same time we remember the experience of the Polish left which the SDRP takes into account in its program, which prove that the formula of 'nothing about Poland without Poles' best suits our national interests. Hence, we respect the action of the government and Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki and President Wojciech Jaruzelski personally."

Jaruzelski States Conditions

LD1902222590 Warsaw PAP in English 2130 GMT 19 Feb 90

[By PAP correspodnent Ryszard Piekarowicz]

[Text] Washington, Feb 19—Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski said that a treaty would certainly be one of the forms which could be recognized as securing the Polish western border but added that the real assurances would be a lineup in Europe built on the rules of collective security and arms reduction, "especially in Germany".

In an interview for the U.S.A. TODAY daily published on Monday, Jaruzelski declared that each nation had the right to self-determination but (Germany's) unification was a special case. "It needs to be a process that cannot take place just between the two Germanys, but must obtain approval from the other parties involved," he said.

"Poland has one other special circumstance—a question of borders and that nothing (happens) without our say. We have both the moral right and political right as a large country in this part of Europe," Jaruzelski stated.

Marylyn Green who interviewed the Polish president, wrote that he "sees himself with a new image as stabilizer for the democratic government. That is quite a change from his old image as the enforcer who launched a year of martial law in December 1981. That change, coupled with his feeling Poland is firmly on the road to political and economic calm, leads Jaruzelski to say he will quit his six-year term before it ends in 1995.

"Jaruzelski, who last visited the U.S. in 1985, may visit again this spring, after Mazowiecki's visit in March," the daily wrote.

'Lasting Character' of Borders

LD2002231390 Warsaw PAP in English 2155 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Szczecin, Feb. 20—On the second day of his visit to Pomorze Zachodnie (Western Pomerania), President Wojciech Jaruzelski went to Szczecin.

Meeting With 5th Regiment Soldiers

At a meeting with soldiers of the 5th Mechanized Regiment, Jaruzelski's wartime unit, the president pointed to the lasting character of the Polish borders.

"As we are among soldiers," he said, "we must be aware of the fact that the lasting character of the borders as well as Poland's and any other country's territorial integrity are determined not only by or perhaps not so much by declarations, statements and treaties though they are very important, but by realities and alignment of forces."

"They are determined by what we are politically, economically, how much united we are as a nation, and what army we have. And this will determine how lasting will be our place on this land. I am deeply convinced it will be a lasting one.

"At a meeting with the diplomatic corps last January I said that Poland appealed to four superpowers to confirm their guarantees of the inviolability of our borders on the 45th anniversary of the victory over fascism.

"I am convinced that, despite all the difficulties the USSR is experiencing, its guarantees are and will be ensured. At the same time, our relations with Western states are positive to that extent that we can count on their friendly attitude to the matter.

"But above all it is for us to decide. My observations made yesterday and today confirm that the Poles who live here have their roots so deep that they have political and moral rights to be here. And Polish soldiers will quarantee this," Jaruzelski said.

Meeting at Pomeranian Princes Castle

At the Pomeranian princes' castle, President Jaruzelski met with representatives of different groups in the Szczecin area: deputies, senators, social, political and labour activists, priests and men of science and culture.

The participants in the meeting voiced their fears connected with Germanys' unification and said that this required a new approach to the policy towards the country's Western regions on the part of the government and the president.

Asked to comment on the visit, President Jaruzelski pointed once more to the Polish-German relations and every Pole's sense of responsibility for his motherland and Europe so that "Poland could become an important factor of European stability."

"A unique chance has emerged for us and we must use it," Jaruzelski said in conclusion. After the meeting, Jaruzelski received representatives of local bodies of the Polish Socialist party (PPS) and the confederation of Independent Poland (KPN) and the fighting Solidarity.

Jaruzelski also met with Ordinary of the Szczecin and Kamien Pomorski Diocese Biship Kazimierz Majdanski. In the talk they touched upon the most vital problems of Szczecin and Pomorze Zachodnie.

Walesa Stresses Jewish Imput

AU2002153490 Hamburg DPA in German 1346 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw—During a meeting with Jewish World Congress Chairman Edgar Bronfman in Gdansk on Tuesday [20 February], Lech Walesa, chairman of the Solidarity trade union, stressed that the Jews and Poles must have a say in decisions concerning a unified Germany. According to his spokesman, Jaroslaw Kurski, the labor leader said: "Because of their enormous sacrifices during World War II, the Jewish people have the moral right to take part in the talks on the unification of Germany."

Edgar Bronfman said during the meeting that a future Germany must not come into possession of nuclear weapons, could only be unified within the borders of the two German states, and would have to guarantee the rights of minorities in its Constitution. Walesa denounced all forms of anti-Semitism.

Opole Germans Found Sociocultural Association

LD2002231190 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] The Opole Voivodship Court has registered the Sociocultural Association of the German Minority in Opole-Silesia. Its founder is Johan Krol, father of the recent senatorial by-election candidate, Henryk Krol. In the course of the election campaign nationality conflicts became evident.

[Begin unidentified reporter recording] This happened because for the past 45 years, Silesians have been deprived of the ability to spontaneously organize their public life. They were deprived of the ability to influence the sociopolitical and systemic transformation in which they got caught up together with the change of borders. Despite the cultural closeness of Silesians and Poles across the border and despite the fact that before the war a pro-Polish movement existed, at the moment we are observing a process of turning away from Polishness. Moreover, this turning away from Polishness is equivalent to a turning away from communism. However, in contrast to Silesians from the Upper Silesian industrial region, who had known a different Poland, with a Silesian Sejm, their own associations and organizations, these people were deprived of all of this.

I believe that today the populace, both the indigenous as well as those who set down roots after World War II, especially in the framework of territorial self-government, will be able to find a modus vivendi wherein the interests of one group and another will be quite simply and appropriately represented, and where compromise solutions will be agreed on; thereby the process of democratization will contribute to extinguishing these animosities, which have found expression in the form of slogans written on walls. [end recording]

Fear of Yalta Agreement Said Unfounded

AU1902173190 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 17-18 Feb 90 p 1

[Janusz Reiter commentary]

[Text] Isolated yet again.... This is the main theme of many current Polish discussions. The feelings of isolation run deep within us. The experiences of September 1939 are imposed on our Yalta complex, the resentment felt against the Germans, evokes the antipathy felt toward the Russians, and disillusionment in the face of the West's indifference.

One can hear the voices of indignation that decisions will be made about us but without us, and this would suggest that we have found ourselves in the role of a chessboard pawn, to be played according to a scenario best known to the players themselves.

Nothing of the kind. No new Yalta looms over us. The future conference on the reunification of Germany will not be deciding new spheres of influence, nor will it be about shifting borders. The four powers are not interested in enlarging Germany at our expense. Apart from their separate interests, their joint goal is the creation of a complete system of security that will guard against the possibility of excessive German might. The permanence of the Odra-Nysa border is an integral part of this system. The complete shape of this system has not been decided, and not all its variants lie in our interests.

We do not want to see a neutral Germany, because it is difficult to imagine how such a power in the center of Europe can behave with indifference. We do not want the NATO boundary moved up to the Odra-Nysa border, because this may perpetuate divisions in Europe. We are, however, interested in seeing the "dissolution" of military pacts and economic blocs within the larger integration structures. In such an integrated Europe, the German-Polish antagonism could become an interesting subject solely for historians.

In order that this may happen, we have to create a better Europe than was shaped after World War I, when many sensitive points were left open, and the one that came about after World War II, when the fate of the countries of our region was left in Stalin's hands. The future solutions cannot be resolved without our input. We have a moral and political right to insist that this happens. Can one imagine a stable structure if the center is left weak?

The conference of the four powers and the two German states is obviously one of the places where we should press our interests and secure support for our concepts. The fact that we have been denied a place at this conference may be regrettable, but it should not be discouraging. Throughout the whole postwar period, the relationship between the four powers changed constantly. At times, these powers stood on the brink of war. However, these powers jealously, and with a good deal of solidarity, guarded their joint right of decision concerning the German question.

Their reaction to the Polish proposal should not be a particular surprise. It was foreseeable. The Polish proposal was, however, necessary. It was founded—to all appearances—on the feelings of Polish society, which demanded a strong expression of Polish fears in this matter.

Defense Body Rejects Party Affiliation in Army

AU1202161690 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 5 Feb 90 p 1

[Text] PAP—An extraordinary meeting of the Military Council of the National Defense Ministry, chaired by Army General Florian Siwicki, national defense minister, took place on 2 February.

The Council examined the current social and living conditions of professional soldiers and conscripts in connection with the increasing economic and financial difficulties. It has already been decided to set aside appropriate sums of money as financial assistance to those families in the greatest need, and other forms of aid have been envisaged. Garrison commanders were asked to provide greater care for military pensioners and invalids.

The Council supported the idea of creating a social organization of professional soldiers which would protect their professional integrity, standard of living, social rights, and legal security.

The Council examined the problem of soldiers belonging to political parties. Taking into account the views of most cadres, and on the defense minister's recommendation, the Council decided to see to it that all kinds of party activity within the Armed Forces are abolished. In practice, this would mean a ban on belonging to any political party while undergoing professional military service and a ban on such membership by soldiers undergoing compulsory military service.

The Council made a profound analysis of the present situation in the Armed Forces. It stated that disturbing phenomena that threaten military order and discipline, and thus cohesion and combat readiness, have appeared in the Armed Forces, not without the inspiration of certain external forces. Concerned about counteracting these dangers, the Council asked the defense minister to present these problems at the next meeting of the National Defense Committee.

PNUC Releases Communique on 18 Feb Incidents

AU2002092890 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Communique: Today the Executive Bureau of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] met to examine questions linked to the demonstration that took place yesterday in Bucharest's Victory Square.

The Executive Bureau heard the reports presented by Deputy Prime Ministers Mihai Pradanescu and Gelu Voican Voiculescu, Defense Minister Colonel General Victor Stanculescu, and Interior Minister Colonel General Mihai Chitac, after which a detailed discussion was held on what happened in Victory Square and on the implications for the current political situation in our country.

An examination of the facts proved that a demonstration that started in Unity Square and stopped in front of the government headquarters, without being authorized legally, led to acts of violence by a small group of demonstrators who had been especially prepared for this purpose. Making use of bars and various other metal objects, which they had brought with them, they forced their way into government headquarters and the Foreign Affairs Ministry, and then committed acts of vandalism and molestation against some representatives of the government, the military, and the forces of law and order.

This aggression caused injuries to more than 30 military personnel and policemen, who, refraining from using their own weapons, tried to fulfill their duty to defend, without retaliating with violence. These acts also caused material damage to the building, official documents were scattered around and destroyed, and some cars and part of the furniture in the building were destroyed.

The PNUC Executive Bureau expresses disapproval for such acts of violence that threaten the political and social climate in our country and its very stability, which is so much needed for the progress of democracy. The Bureau condemns them, and demands that the guilty ones be severely punished.

On behalf of the various political formations which it represents, several members of the Executive Bureau unambiguously disavowed the use of those methods, which may seriously prejudice prospects for our democratic consolidation. This is flagrantly at variance with the spirit of the policy of cooperation and collaboration that inspired all political formations from the moment the PNUC was established, aimed at united action on the basis of a common platform, in order to ensure stability and peace in our country and the preparation and holding of free elections in May under favorable conditions.

Such methods and actions, which might trigger anarchic disintegration, are aimed at spreading the idea that our country cannot be governed and that it is unsuited for the values and spirit of democracy. It is also significant that during the unfettering of these uncivilized elements and the acts of vandalism, there were some hectic and reckless leaders who suggested to higher Army cadres, who were coordinating the defense of the government headquarters, the foolish idea of setting up a military power in a hasty way under the pressure of restless elements, an idea which, of course, was firmly rejected by the aforementioned military personnel.

Such reckless acts risk the distortion of the political climate in our country and the creation of uncertainty and general unrest, thus provoking reactions of indignation that are difficult to control by large groups of people in various localities and areas of our country.

Even during the meeting, at the specific request of the Executive Bureau, President Ion Iliescu addressed the country on television and the radio, calling for responsibility and self-control. He also asked those who were on their way to Bucharest from the Jiu Valley and other workers centers to defend the government, to remain at their jobs, and to prove, through calmness and lucidity, their trust in the new destiny of our country.

With the agreement of the Executive Bureau, Mr. Ion Iliescu drew attention to the risks created by the escalation of violence and anarchy, which inevitably might give birth to a dictatorship and generate a distressing chain of events that would turn Romania into a stage of violent confrontations.

The deliberations of the Executive Bureau stressed the civic responsibility that the whole nation has to prove, both in the activity of the parties and in various political formations and in the image we convey in the press and mass media about our country's current problems, so as to prevent attempts at manipulating the minds and behavior of people—something which would only harm Romanian public activity.

In view of what has happened, the Executive Bureau asked the relevant state bodies to make thorough and immediate investigations into the exact circumstances that led to the 18 February aggression against some government institutions and to establish who was behind these obvious provocations. It was also decided that, in accordance with the conclusions that were reached, all the guilty ones are to be handed over to the court of justice so that they may receive the punishment they deserve. To prevent new acts of violence and hooliganism, the session decided to issue a decree-law that is to stipulate specific and secure measures aimed at effectively protecting state bodies, public institutions, and the headquarters of all parties and political formations, peace among the citizens, and order, so as to ensure a climate of certainty and free democratic expression.

Public order-keeping forces were also asked to show promptness and determination in applying legal regulations on organizing public meetings and demonstrations in order to prevent any attempts at political destabilization.

During the discussions, the participants also decided to accommodate public opinion by ensuring truthful information on the part of the country's leadership, in the spirit of sincerity and objectivity, on the problems that concern broad categories of citizens such as, for instance, the situation of repressive formations in the structure of the former Security Department, both at the central and regional level.

The measures that have been taken and those that will be adopted have to be made known, so as to tangibly meet general expectations and to clarify things in order to eliminate mutual suspicion and sources of tension, which continue to disquiet public opinion in our country. All this is aimed at developing civilized dialogue and receptivity toward the imperatives of our democratic development, thus ensuring for the various social and political forces a framework for responsible and lucid cooperation in which—by respecting legitimate differences—major national interests may prevail.

The Executive Bureau decided that in the next meeting the PNUC will discuss the conclusions it has reached in connection with the problems discussed and the measures decided on during today's meeting, the communique concludes.

Radio Details PNUC Meeting With Miners

AU2002211790

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian at 2024 GMT on 19 February carries in its "24 Hours" program a recorded reportage of a meeting between Ion Iliescu, president of the Provisional National Unity Council (PNUC), and other PNUC members, with pro-PNUC miners from Jiu Valley. The miners came by train to Bucharest with the declared intention of "supporting the PNUC and the government" after the "violent disturbances" on 18 February. The reportage begins with an Iliescu address to a delegation of miners' representatives, blaming the incidents on "rightist forces" and "former Iron-Guardists," who are "financed from abroad" and who want to establish a "nationalist-rightist government" in Romania.

After this address, Iliescu is asked by the miners "whether he enjoys the support of other parties represented in the PNUC." Iliescu's reply is: "We have not had enough time to mobilize all the representatives, but the main parties which are participating in the Council and Executive Bureau are present here...." Asked by the miners to name the representatives of the other parties present, Iliescu says: "Mr. Radu Campeanu is here next to me; he is the PNUC vice president and general secretary of the National Liberal Party. Mr. Cunescu, general secretary of the Social Democratic Party, is also here. We have not been able to ensure the presence of the National Peasants Party; Mr. Coposu could not be contacted. He might be away from Bucharest. We tried to contact him in the afternoon. We learned about your demand relatively late, in the afternoon, when we were informed by our representatives. We have been unable to find any one on behalf of the National Peasants Party to be present at this meeting. The rest of the main parties are represented here."

A miner takes the floor and, after describing the "harsh conditions" under which they traveled by train to Bucharest, asks whether the "country is unable to subsidize a simple train ride, when it is ready to subsidize all the political parties created so far and others that will still be created, all of which are being subsidized from the state budget." The miner adds: "We do not accept the parasitism of political parties. Please, do not misunderstand me. We consider the criteria on which the parties were formed as superf[illegible]al.... It is easy to gather 251 people to form a party." Another miner says that "we are not against political pluralism," but expresses the opinion that "political parties should not be subsidized from the state budget"; he believes that "a political party with broad public appeal should be able to finance itself from its membership dues." The miners also demand that the "future president of the country, should be elected by the people, and have the right of veto, in the name of the people and the nation."

Several miners address their concern that the government be allowed to function "with stability" until the elections. Referring to the incidents on the previous day, when "a distinguished man like Deputy Prime Minister Gelu Voican was beaten up by vandals who broke into the Government building," they express their bewilderment that "gangs of hooligans" can "hold the country to ransom with impunity" and demand assurances that there will be no further threats to the security of the PNUC; if such assurances cannot be given, then "we, miners, will stay on in Bucharest and defend it ourselves."

Assurances in this respect are given by Interior Minister Colonel General Mihai Chitac and Defense Minister Colonel General Victor Atanasie Stanculescu. Chitac says that "we have inherited a "weak," "partially corrupt," and "poorly trained" police apparatus, which was constantly depleted by the previous regime as "many cadres were transferred to other sectors, such as the security forces." In the past two months, a restructuring of the police force has been underway: "we eliminated the elements of the former Securitate from among the force and depoliticized the police." He adds: "The current police is no longer involved in politics. It defends the interests of all parties, of all present and future political parties." He says that "until the completion of its reorganization, the police will still need the support of the Army, which is available," to ensure public order. Chitac then explains that "what started as a peaceful demonstration on 18 February," with demands such as "the dismissal of former Securitate elements from all walks of life," turned into a confrontation because of "a few criminal elements," who are now being investigated. He concludes that, "with the help of the Army and the support of the people, we will be able to ensure peace and tranquillity."

Defense Minister Victor Atanasie Stanculescu assures the miners that "the Romanian Army will continue to act and behave in such a way that you can be proud of your Army." He assures them that "they can return home with their minds at peace," since the Army will ensure the protection of the Government, of all buildings, and of peace and tranquility in Bucharest."

Several miners reiterate their calls to "an end to all acts of vandalism by hooligans and thugs" that "let themselves be manipulated by antinational forces." Another miner attacks Liberal Party leader Radu Campeanu: while "he had lived well abroad," the people "were starving at home." He praises Iliescu for having done "a great job" in a short period of time and demands that Iliescu be allowed to "work on, in peace and tranquillity, at stabilizing the country until the elections."

Iliescu again takes the floor and says: "Dear miners, I would like to ask you to approach all these things with wisdom. Certainly, as I myself said at the beginning, there are numerous irresponsible circles and elements who are able to do all sorts of things, who bear no responsibility whatsoever for the fate of these people and this country, and who are ready to do all they can to create difficulties for us and to destabilize our country.

"But we should not panic. If need be, we ourselves will call you. I think that you should return home quietly and you may rest assured that there are people of good faith in Bucharest, too, who can ensure the necessary security of our government institutions.

"I believe that both the Army and the order-keeping forces will draw all necessary conclusions from what happened yesterday and in connection with what we have to do to ensure the quiet of this city and of our country. We want to express thanks for your sense of sacrifice. I think that this discussion with you and the position you expressed today will be a lesson of patriotism for the whole of our country. The position expressed by you is the position shared—I am sure—by the great majority of the citizens of this country. Your reproaches are welcome reproaches toward those who are called upon to ensure order and have not been able to do so. They are welcome reproaches toward those who do not bear in mind the interests of our people and place themselves in the service of foreign interests trying to perturb public quietude, to terrorize our people, and to create disquietude and destabilization.

"I think that we will have the necessary response on the part of all people of good faith and of all responsible forces so as to give the necessary riposte to such circles. Therefore, I would like to appeal to you to have full trust in those who are called upon to ensure the quietude and order in Bucharest and to trustfully return to your homes. I believe that we find the necessary support on behalf of all those called upon to ensure this in Bucharest as well.

"The invitation to come to Petrosani is welcome and we will gladly follow suit. Maybe sometime we will think about the proposal in connection with the headquarters of some government bodies. However, for the time being, I believe that we will be able to meet with the necessary understanding on the part of all those involved."

Sergiu Cunescu, leader of the Social Democratic Party, takes the floor, talks about the importance of democracy and his party's "close links" with the Jiu Valley, and tells the miners that "they should not be afraid of too many parties," because all the political formations that "sprung up in the wake of the revolution" will either "regroup in a few major parties" or will "disappear." He demands "a serious inquiry" into the events of 18 February to elucidate "who was behind the disturbances" and warns against "dangers from both the extreme left and extreme right."

Several miners express doubts about the "fairness" of the methods used by the "historical parties" in their "haggling for power" and imply that these parties may have had something to do with the 18 February incidents in Bucharest. Iliescu then takes the floor and tries to allay suspicions that the opposition parties were involved in the disturbances or are trying to undermine the security of the government.

Another miner representative, an engineer, says that the "Jiu Valley miners are still distrustful of the existing parties, particularly the historical parties," and he wants to know "who is behind these manipulations?" He warns that the miners "will not allow anyone to overthrow the government" and if anybody tries a "coup d'etat," the miners "will be in Bucharest the following day" and "will fight to death." Another miner says that he "still believes that some parties, maybe not those present here," were involved in the 18 February events.

The secretary general of the National Peasants Party (name indistinct) addresses the miners on behalf of the party's president, Corneliu Coposu, who is absent from Bucharest. He talks about the party's history and its leaders' participation in the 22 December 1989 revolution and categorically denies that his party was involved in the 18 February disturbance.

Iliescu again takes the floor and says: "We want to preserve a climate of mutual esteem and respect and of cooperation with all political forces. Nervous and impulsive outbreaks, or accusations against one person or another are of no help. We want to start from due respect for all. Political cooperation, without bearing in mind the opinions of all, is not possible. Democracy means tolerance, it means listening to the views of all people, and it means confrontation of ideas. Therefore, all of us have to show calm, patience, and tolerance.

"You have come here and we have all met to protest against acts of vandalism, which undermine the interests of all of us, the interests of the country, the interests of the citizens, and the interests of all political formations.

Because, as you can see, such acts fan suspicion, including toward the political formations. [indistinct shouting]

"You have justifiably come here to protest against those who have organized such actions. I do not want us to start from preconceived ideas and put the blame on some political formations here. I want to trust and believe what people say when they dissociate themselves from such actions, when they condemn them, and when they take a stand against them. I believe that our general quietude and the country's stability have to be based on mutual trust and cooperation among all political formations. And I want to ask you to grant us the necessary support, so that, through joint efforts, we are able to give a firm riposte to those who try to destabilize the country and to disturb our quietude and trust in general. [several voices are heard at once; several voices are heard asking: "Where is Coposu?]

"It is the duty of the politician to move around the country..." (Iliescu's voice fades; several people speak at once)

Several miners say that they want to "clarify" who was behind the "violence of 18 February," because people tend to believe that the "historical parties may have been involved."

Iliescu speaks again: "As I have said before, I would like you to show due respect to all the party representatives here; they have shown good will and civic awareness, they have dissociated themselves from these actions, and this is a positive attitude. I want to express words of appreciation for the fact that all representatives of the political parties here have dissociated themselves from the acts of vandalism, have taken stands against them and have condemned them, and asked for severe measures to ensure that all those who are guilty of such acts are investigated and called to account, in accordance with the law.

"Therefore, there is no use in chastising people who have come here, because by coming here they have proved their political responsibility and solidarity against the elements who want to destabilize our country. Therefore, I think that it is a positive attitude, that the political parties are uniting in the struggle against those who want to destabilize us, against hooligans, and in the struggle against people who resort to violence and against the circles that support them. I think that this is a good thing, and only if we are united can we give a proper riposte to all of them. Consequently, all of us beg you to view this political act, the position of those present at this meeting in the right light, a meeting which marks this position of solidarity with all people of good faith in this country, who justifiably give a riposte to acts of vandalism.

"I think we should stop at 2400 hours. It is almost 2400 hours. There are also people outside who have been waiting for many hours. Let us express thanks to everybody for this act of solidarity and for the act of great civic commitment and patriotism shown by the Jiu Valley miners, and thanks to those who are representing the parties with us and who have taken stands against these actions. Let us try together to ensure the measures required for public quietude. I think that your call on all people of good faith in the country and in Bucharest is welcome, because I think that there are very many honest people and people of good faith in this country, and through our action of solidarity we will be able to keep a tight hand over the elements at loggerheads with public order and elements trying to create difficulties and destabilization in our country.

"Only united will the political forces, the people of good faith, and conscious people in this country be able to give a proper riposte and to keep a tight hand over the elements and the circles that want to destabilize us. I want to thank all of you for your presence at this meeting."

The announcer then says: "After the end of the discussion with the miners' delegation, Mr. Ion Iliescu, PNUC president, addressed the thousands of miners in Victory Square from the balcony of the Council of Ministers."

Iliescu says: "Dear miners, I think you have followed the progress of our discussion. On behalf of all my colleagues in the PNUC, I want to express thanks; our thanks to you are actually more profound and much overdue. You have shown numerous proofs of devotion toward work and the country and proof of patriotism. You have carried numerous burdens on your shoulders, and you have given great things to this country, including sacrifices, the sacrifices of 1929 and of 1977 during Ceausescu's regime. You are among the forerunners of the Romanian revolution of today. Thus, you have every reason and moral authority to request the current politicians to observe the interests of the working people and to ensure that the democracy that is developing in our country is placed in the service of the people who work and who create with their hands and minds. [cheers, chants]

"Once again we want to express thanks to you for the efforts you have made. [cheers]

"Farewell and bon voyage. Good luck. [cheers]

"You have heard the assurances made both by the leaders of the Interior Ministry and the National Defense Ministry, and we will take all necessary measures against those who have violated the law. Just as you have come here to express your indignation, last night's acts of vandalism have stirred a wave of indignation throughout the country. We believe that it is all the more condemnable, because these actions took place shortly after the political parties had reached an understanding to work together on the basis of a common platform in the interests of the country's stabilization, so that political confrontation in this preelection period will take place in a civilized manner. But such provocative elements want to destabilize the country precisely at such moments when the political forces are uniting to ensure a climate of quietude and cooperation. These elements and circles,

which act against our country's interests, lack any responsibility. I understand that last night there was madman, a provocateur who tried to drive a car into the these peaceful people who rallied here, into the miners. He was seized and will be tried severely. [cheers]

"I believe that if people of good faith are united, we will be able to get rid of all thugs. [cheers]

"We want to thank you very much and to wish you all the best. Bon voyage and good luck. [cheers]

"Dear friends, as you see, our Army is here on guard duty and it is determined to ensure the necessary calm for the government's activity. We thank you very much for your proofs of solidarity; it is a pity for you, too, to waste your time, because even so, you have made very great efforts. The eyes of the whole country have focused on you and I think that all of us have reason to be grateful to you. Therefore, I wish you all the best. Good luck and bon voyage."

After the speech several miners take the floor, and they say that the situation seems to have stabilized and add that they now have to discuss the decision to return home.

Stanculescu Outlines Measures Against Securitate

AU2002201290 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] National Defense Minister, Colonel General Victor Stanculescu, made the following statement to the ROMPRES agency in connection with the former Securitate [Security] bodies.

Through Decree No. 4 issued shortly after the victory of the people's revolution on 22 December 1989, the Securitate bodies were subordinated to the National Defense Ministry. Later, through Decree No. 33 of 30 December 1989, the Department of State Security and all its central and local units were dismantled.

After a complex process of examination, the Ministry of National Defense decided that a large part of the operational cadres of the former State Securitate are compromised in the eyes of the people and the revolution, because they were involved in unconditionally serving the Ceausescu dictatorship and its clique and interests. Moreover, they are compromised even in the eyes of those Securitate cadres who had joined the struggle for freedom and democracy from the very beginning, either by fighting against the terrorists or by guarding, defending, or making other contributions alongside the revolutionary forces.

Given the antirevolutionary actions performed with fanaticism by certain Securitate officers who took part in repressive missions, thus contributing, directly or indirectly, to the repression in the days of the people's revolution, the leading cadres of the former Department of State Security—such as Colonel General Iulian Vlad, Major General Gianu Bucurescu, Lieutenant General Aristotel Stamatoiu, Lieutenant General Gheorghe Vasile, Major General Marin Neagoe, Major General Ioan Mot, Major General Alexandru Stencu, Major General Emil Macri, and all other department chiefs and deputy chiefs—are placed in reserve and some of them are under arrest.

Likewise, certain units have been dismantled and their cadres were placed in reserve, such as Directorate 5 of Guarding and Order—436 cadres—and Directorate 4 of Military Counterintelligence—1,073 cadres, of which 611 were placed in reserve. Those found guilty of various infringements have been arrested and are being investigated by the Military Prosecutor's Office. At the same time, 1,844 cadres from the Securitate bodies in Bucharest Municipality and in Timis, Brasov, Sibiu, and Cluj Counties were placed in reserve; only the technical personnel required for the operation of the transmission means for the local telephone network are still on duty. In other counties, 1739 cadres were also placed in reserve.

The largest part of the cadres belonging to the management of the former State Security Department, certain chiefs and deputy chiefs of central directorates and county Securitate units, as well as other high-ranking officers who gave illegal orders or made a contribution to the repression of the revolution are currently under arrest and are being investigated by the Military Prosecutor's Office. Military courts will be charged with their trial and severe punishment, in accordance with the seriousness of their deeds and guilt. The Prosecutor's Office continues to ferret out and question the guilty ones. The troops used solely for guarding important targets throughout the country—troops made up of conscripts and permanent cadres—will continue to fulfill such missions in the future, too.

It is worth pointing out that the process of clarifying the activity and possible guilt of various cadres continues.

In view of the principle of the separation of powers in our state—a principle established after the December revolution—we must put full trust in the bodies of our Prosecutor's Office and justice system concerning the investigation and trial of the guilty parties who belonged to the Securitate apparatus.

The listening systems used by the former Securitate were made inoperative as of 22 December 1989, when linking cables with central telephone offices were cut off; this was also reported by the press. Operational groups of the National Defense Ministry were installed in all transmission units of the former Interior Ministry and State Security Department, where they took control of the respective technology, sealed off, and put under guard all listening rooms, centers, and devices. The former bugging and listening centers—situated at No. 6, 8, and 14 on 13 December Street, in the Romanian Optics Enterprise, in the 23 August Enterprise, in the Bucharest Heavy Machinery Enterprise, in the Bucharest Garments and Knitwear Factory, and in intermediate rooms in all

central telephone offices in Bucharest Municipality—can be visited by television reporters and journalists, something which has already begun to happen.

The buildings and installations that have been taken over will be used to improve the local telecommunications system, while the aforementioned special listening installations are in the process of being destroyed. The National Defense Ministry assures the public that no telephone conversation will be intercepted or listened to now or in the future.

We will shortly institutionalize certain structures, which—as is the case with all modern countries in the world—have the task of ensuring the defense of the country's sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity and of preventing any actions meant to cause economic and social destabilization or hamper Romania's democratic development. These structures may not serve any political party or group.

The leading positions in these new structures are and will be filled only with officers of the Romanian Army who have shown, through their abilities and deeds, loyalty to the country, people, and the revolution and who do not belong to any political party or movement. Through their training, skills, and qualities, these people must prove their competence and professional and moral integrity.

In the future, we will select and train, in special schools, devoted cadres to be employed in these structures.

The National Defense Ministry assures the people that no citizen, regardless of nationality, political affiliation, or religious convictions, and no party, political or public organization, institution, or enterprise is the target of the cadres in the new army structures, said Colonel General Victor Stanculescu.

PNUC Issues Executive Bureau Communiques

AU1602200290 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Communique:

On 16 February 1990, the Executive Bureau of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] met in its first working session. The meeting examined the following problems:

1. Finalizing the necessary documentation for the Executive Bureau's creation, on the basis of decisions adopted by PNUC sessions on 9 and 13 February 1990.

2. Establishing tasks and responsibilities within the PNUC Executive Bureau.

3. Appointing the leadership of PNUC specialized commissions.

The Executive Bureau also examined proposals presented by Prime Minister Petre Roman in connection with the necessary measures to implement the provisions of Decree-Law No. 1/1989 on returning to the people the money collected in an abusive way by the Ceausescu regime as contributions to the economic development participation fund. In this connection, a decree-law was adopted to regulate the way and conditions in which this money will be refunded. This decree-law will be published.

The prime minister also advanced certain measures on granting material assistance to recently created political parties and formations so that they can carry out their activities under normal conditions.

The PNUC Bureau Executive endorsed the proposed measures.

In the last part of the session, PNUC President Ion Iliescu presented a report on the political situation in recent days, following dissatisfaction among a number of officers and soldiers from certain military units. In this respect, he presented the measures taken by the government to urgently resolve the situation. The Executive Bureau expressed the conviction that the measures adopted by the government, including the creation of a commission of inquiry, will facilitate a fully objective examination of the problems raised by members of the military from certain garrisons and will establish the necessary measures to normalize the situation in the Army and create a climate of order and discipline in all military units, an important prerequisite for maintaining the country's stability and strengthening the ties and unity between the Army and the people.

The session also finalized the text of the communique adopted by the PNUC at its latest session.

PNUC Communique:

In December 1989, the Romanian people, through the sacrifice of their best sons, overthrew the Ceausescu dictatorship. The National Salvation Front [NSF] Council was set up, which took over the functions as a state body of power, thus filling the power vacuum that was created. Under the new conditions, on the basis of the decree-law issued by the new body of power, certain traditional political parties resumed their activity and new political formations were set up, thus establishing an appropriate climate for a return to a democratic society.

At the 1 February 1990 meeting of delegations representing 30 political formations, agreement was reached on setting up a Provisional National Unity Council, by expanding the NSF composition to include representatives of all political forces that had been created in Romania by then. On this basis, at the 9 February meeting the PNUC was set up, on parity principles, made up of people who had taken an active part in the revolution, personalities from scientific and cultural life, workers, intellectuals, peasants, young people, students, members of all political parties and formations registered by then, and representatives of the organizations of national minorities.

The PNUC assumed legislative prerogatives and is the provisional state body of power in Romania until the elections.

This new legislative body is yet another important step toward the assertion of political pluralism in our country.

At the first meeting after its creation, on 13 February 1990, the PNUC adopted its functioning rules and Executive Bureau, consisting of 21 members. In order to ensure the further implementation of the goals of the December 1989 revolution and the establishment of true democracy in Romania, the PNUC calls on all political formations, state administration bodies, the Army, and the citizens to jointly contribute to maintaining public quiet and order and ensuring the normal course of socioeconomic life.

Now, when we are still experiencing a difficult period of privation and social tensions and when the structures of the new social and political structure are not sufficiently stable, it is necessary to show moderation and calm in tackling the many problems faced at home and abroad. In these exceptional circumstances, when we are preparing for the forthcoming free elections—after half a century of dictatorial regimes—the PNUC is fully aware of its responsibilities and solemnly assures the people that it will fulfill its duties in good faith, for the country's progress, for the reinstatement of freedom and democracy in Romania, and for the development of relations of friendship with other peoples in the world.

Roman on Unrest Since Revolution

PM2102111290 Paris LE MONDE in French 17 Feb 90 p 4

[Interview with Prime Minister Petre Roman by Patrice Claude in Bucharest; date not given]

[Text] Bucharest—[Claude] More than eight weeks after Ceausescu's fall, your government seems more fragile than ever. There are demonstrations every day outside your windows, and the army is now agitating....

[Roman] That is all part of democracy. The essential thing is that there is no violence and, since 26 December, there has been none. With regard to the military, the strike is over, they have all returned to their barracks in an orderly way. I listened to all their demands which, in my view, are coherent. On the other hand, those who continued to demonstrate would be breaking the law.

[Claude] In short, are you giving in to pressure once again?

[Roman] No. I think that the Army's democratization is a natural continuation of the revolution. It is not giving in to pressure to have discussions with those who think that this democratization should go further.

[Claude] However, you are disowning two of your ministers—the defense minister and the interior minister.

[Roman] No, not at all, I have promised to study the demonstrators' remarks on these two people and to tell them in two weeks' time whether or not we accept the demands for them to be fired. If the answer is yes, nothing more will be said, other than to explain to them the reasons. The video showing General Chitac (the interior minister) taking part in the Timisoara repression in December is a pure invention. This is bordering on madness! That video does not exist.

[Claude] Do you not have the impression, as Mr. Chitac said, that Romania is gently sliding into anarchy?

[Roman] I would say that that is the reaction of a soldier who has never seen a democracy in operation.

The Securitate Problem

[Claude] However, Doina Cornea has asked for an end to economic aid to Romania to force you, she said, to set the country firmly on a democratic course.

[Roman] I wonder whether that is not a lack of patriotism. What does it mean? What do we represent here? Is our task not to give this people unity and a better life? Mrs. Cornea's stance is incomprehensible and even worrying.

[Claude] The fact remains that the army is still restless. Did you not make a mistake when you included Securitate members in it?

[Roman] There were three stages. First, during the fighting, we called on the Securitate people to show solidarity with the people. Some of them did so and they fought with us against the terrorists and diehards. Initially, therefore, we integrated almost 15,000 men. Second, the Securitate, as a body dependent on the interior ministry, was dissolved. In the third stage, we are analyzing each case to see whether those people were guilty of any crime or whether they could transfer to civilian jobs. That will take a great deal of time. But several hundred of them have already been eliminated and the first trials will start soon.

[Claude] Do you think that your government can hold firm until the May elections?

[Roman] That is my task. In fact, it depends on political action. The provisional government cannot shoulder full responsibility toward the country. The National Unity Council (which groups all the parties) must shoulder its responsibility—in other words the nation's political stability. Can the government alone guarantee it? No, it is impossible.

[Claude] For the time being, lines of people waiting have lengthened again on the sidewalks.

[Roman] I, honestly, wonder why. Food supplies are markedly better than before the revolution. They are even considerably better than they were a month ago and are continuing to improve. We have made a big effort in

this sphere and for the first quarter alone we have spent more than $200 million on food imports.

Aside from that, the country has not yet fully returned to work. We inherited a big empty bag from Ceausescu. We do not have adequate resources to guarantee the functioning of our enterprises. For instance, in January we were able to provide the crucial sector of mechanical engineering with 60 percent of the raw material it needs. That is why we are now launching what I call complementarity operations. Countries provide us with raw materials and energy in exchange for finished products.

[Claude] Is it true, as Bucharest says, that you have resumed exports of food to Moscow?

[Roman] It is absolutely untrue.

[Claude] Will you personally be a candidate in the 20 May elections?

[Roman] Frankly, I am not inclined to stand. However, I have a contract with a political party. The aim is to ensure continuity and honor pledges. It is therefore possible that I may reconsider my position.

100,000 Protest Bulgarian Policy in Macedonia

AU2002195490 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] In Skopje today, about 100,000 people expressed their solidarity with the just demands of Macedonians who live in neighboring countries for their national and human rights. A protest was made against the negative policy of the Bulgarian authorities toward Macedonia in general. Boris Djordjioski reports from this great meeting:

[Begin Djordjioski recording] A program of cultural and entertainment events is under way on Marshall Tito Square in Skopje, which means the end of today's great people's meeting, at which unanimous support was expressed for the struggle against discrimination against any people [word indistinct] Macedonians who live in neighboring countries.

In a message to the Yugoslav, international, and democratic public of Bulgaria, a demand was made for the defense of civilization's achievements, which means that the national and human rights and freedoms of Macedonians are to be defended because there is no real democracy in Bulgaria, it was said, while social processes develop, burdened by an earlier assimilationist policy.

The Yugoslav peoples are united in the demand that the new Bulgarian leadership renounce its negative policy toward Macedonians, stressed Blagoje Filipovski, president of the city conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Skopje. He said further that according to the census of 1956, there were 178,000 Macedonians in the Pirin part of Macedonia—which was 63 percent of the total population of this part of Bulgaria—but now they no longer exist in this country, according to what is stated in Bulgaria.

We want to live in peace and cooperation and helping one another, which is not a privilege but a necessity, said Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the SFRY Presidency. Without democracy for the minority, there can be no complete freedom for everyone and even for the people in the majority. [Word indistinct] for the Macedonian people because this is an international crime. This people has never threatened anyone. No one can violate their national integrity as this people will always protect someone's dignity.

The great people's meeting was held in Skopje and was attended by numerous Albanians, but in Kumanovo about 60 ethnic Albanians tried to organize demonstrations in the center of the town, shouting the well-known slogans: "Kosovo—Republic" and "Democracy."

The passersby reacted themselves to this provocation and dispersed the demonstrators before the militia arrived. The militia arrested about a dozen demonstrators, mainly from Gnjilane and other places in Kosovo.

As a response to the attempt to hold a hostile demonstration, about 1,000 Macedonians and Serbs gathered at about 1600 to demand that they settle accounts themselves with those who want to provoke conflicts in this multinational town. The militia prevented attempts to do this. [end recording]

Demonstrations Held in Macedonia

Albanians Attempt Protest

LD2002155590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1536 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Kumanovo, 20 Feb (TANJUG)—A group of several dozen Albanians, mainly young people, tried to stage demonstrations today at around 1300 [1200 GMT] in Kumanovo [Macedonia]. In the town center, in front of Kozjak cinema, they shouted slogans "Kosovo, Republic", "Democracy, Democracy" and raised their hands in "V" signs.

The attempt brought about a spontaneous reaction by Macedonian citizens. They themselves dispersed the demonstrators. The police arrived immediately and established order in a short period of time. Since some Macedonian citizens attempted to "sentence" the demonstrators, the policemen energetically acted to prevent such acts of violence.

According to unofficial information, ten demonstrators are being detained in the police station. Among them are Albanians from Gnjilane and other places in Kosovo.

Macedonians, Serbs in Kumanovo

LD2002174390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1626 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Kumanovo, 20 Feb (TANJUG)—Embittered by today's attempted demonstrations by Albanians in Kumanovo, over 1,000 Kumanovo citizens, mainly Macedonians and Serbs, started to gather in the town center some time after 1600 [1500 GMT]. Demonstrators broke the shop windows of a green grocery belonging to Ibisa Zeij, whom they claim hid some Albanians who participated in today's demonstrations. They wrecked an Opel with Swiss registration plates, whose Albanian owner took part in today's demonstrations.

In the town center, the police succeeding in controlling the demonstrators, who are shouting slogans opposing Greater Albanian nationalism and separatism and supporting a united Yugoslavia.

Kumanovo 'Returning to Normal'

LD2002212190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1717 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Kumanovo, 20 Feb (TANJUG)—Thanks to security forces' efforts, the situation in Kumanovo is gradually returning to normal, although a group of about 100 Macedonians are still gathered at the town center. They are shouting slogans against greater Albanian separatism and for a united Yugoslavia. Isolated incidents occur

here and there, and the crowd has made attempts to settle the score with the Albanians.

Macedonian Communists on LCY Congress

LD2002183190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1522 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Skopje, Feb 20 (TANJUG)—The adjourned 14th congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) cannot be resumed without previously defining a concept of the new party as a democratic one which will act in multi-party conditions, said the leadership of the League of Communists (LC) of Macedonia.

The today issued stands of the Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidency say that Macedonian Communists will continue to urge the renewal of the LCY which would be set up on new bases with a clearly defined political platform which will demand radical social changes. [sentence as received]

Macedonian Communists will insist on the establishment of unity on condition that it is founded on a democratically adopted platform and statute, without outvoting.

The 14th special LCY congress was adjourned on January 22 after the walkout of the delegates of the Republic of Slovenia whose proposal on the LCY as an alliance of independent of republican Leagues of Communists was not adopted.

Relations in the LCY should be based on equality and independence of republican organizations, which voluntarily enter a common party, said the Macedonian leadership.

They can have their own documents and the differences within them will not be contrary to the ideological basis of the LCY's program. These differences would be the result of specific conditions in which they act as republican organizations, Macedonian Communists believe.

Democratic centralism should be replaced with democratic unity, which means that the program, statute and other important questions should be decided by a consensus, said the Macedonian LC leadership.

Violent Demonstrations Continue in Kosovo

Pristina Students Issue Demands

LD2002123690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1116 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, 25 Feb (TANJUG)—About 4,000 Pristina University students today protested peacefully in front of their residence halls demanding "a constructive dialogue in the framework of the legal instuitutions without exclusivity." The student gathering began at about 1000 this morning, accompanied by noticeable tension among onlookers and police who were following their movements.

However, a few minutes later the students held only a protest meeting from which they sent their demands, including an appeal to schoolchildren, young people, and students not to "express their dissatisfaction by demonstrating in the street and not to be taken in by various provocations because these are being used only as a pretext for bloodshed, violence, and repression." In their demand they also drew attention to the fact that they will boycott tuition unless a dialogue is established with the opposition by 1000 next Tuesday.

They repeated their main demands which include abolishing the emergency measures in the province, sending home the combined militia unit, ending all fabricated trials, and abolishing ideological and political differentiation. They also demanded the end of the "[word indistinct] anti-Albanian campaign," and called for a multiparty system, freedom of the press, and free elections. They repeated that the emergency and repressive measures are not productive, as is proved by the victims, killings, and injuries sustained, which they call "state terrorism." They also called for the abolition of the education law.

In their demand the students also said that they are deeply embittered by the course of [words indistinct] the dramatic nature and danger of [word indistinct] into collective tragedy. After reading their demand aloud, the students dispersed, saluting with raised hands and raising their fingers to signify victory. Many of them went home, while others went towards the town center, where there were no incidents.

New Demonstrations Noted

LD2002124190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1204 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, 20 Feb (TANJUG)—Several attempted demonstrations and protests were recorded in Kosovo this morning. In Dusanovac near Prizren, about 200 people attempted to demonstrate but were dispersed by police intervention. A similar thing happened in Obilic, where schoolchildren went out onto the streets to protest. At noon exactly, demonstrations began again in Urosevac. The heralded "bloody Tuesday" of the Albanian separatists and terrorists caused indignation amongst the inhabitants of the Serbian village of Kusce, who also sought arms today.

The economy of the province has obviously been most affected by the disturbances. In Dragas and Podujevo virtually no one is working, while Albanian miners at the mines of Goles and Kisnica i Nova Brda near Pristina refused to go down the pits.

Protests Held in Several Towns

LD2002154990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1355 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, 20 Feb (TANJUG)—About 5,000 mainly young people gathered in early afternoon in the Vranjevac area of Pristina. So far, the police have not

intervened. The town itself [Pristina] is relatively quite, although tensions due to threatening announcements made by separatists are not easing. Air Force jet planes and police helicopters flew over Pristina on several occasions.

Demonstrations were held in Urosevac, Kacanik, and Lipljan. About 1,000 Albanians, some of them masked, marched through Vucitrn and occasionally provoked policemen. Stong militia forces are preventing about 2,000 people from entering Titova Mitrovica and staging demonstrations.

3 Policemen Shot; Tanks Aid Militia

LD2002143890 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Here are a few more pieces of information which we have succeeded in ascertaining: In Urosevac, in a clash between the security forces and demonstrators, shots from firearms have injured three policemen. In (?Pec) and Lipljan, it is relatively quiet, while in Janjevo and Vucitrn there are demonstrations. A tank unit of the Yugoslav People's Army has today been located at the entrances to Podujevo to assist the combined (?mobile) militia. [passage omitted]

Presidency Decision on Army Units

LD2002153190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1434 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Feb (TANJUG)—The SFRY Presidency, in keeping with its constitutional authority and responsibility, adopted at today's session a decision on the specific engagement of units of the Yugoslav People's Army in Kosovo for the purpose of protecting the constitutional order and preventing violence.

A statement for the public was issued from the session, which reads:

At today's session of the SFRY Presidency, presided over by SFRY Presidency President Janez Drnovsek, it was assessed that in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo a serious deterioration has evolved in the security situation.

In view of the fact that the measures on banning gatherings for the purpose of demonstrating and on compulsory work orders, which are in force in this province, are not being implemented consistently—something which could have tragic consequences for all citizens in this province and the country as a whole—the SFRY Presidency resolutely requests that all state organs, especially internal affairs units, energetically and effectively prevent any lack of respect for these measures.

The SFRY Presidency, in keeping with its constitutional authority and responsibility, has adopted a decision on the specific engagement of units of the Yugoslav People's Army in Kosovo for the purpose of protecting the constitutional order and preventing violence.

The SFRY Presidency has adopted a decision on the implementation of other measures within its competence, and it has also proposed that the state organs in the socialist republics and the socialist autonomous provinces take the necessary measures within their competence so as to prevent the negative influence of the deterioration of the security situation in Kosovo on the whole country.

The SFRY Presidency again calls on Kosovo's citizens to refrain from taking part in demonstrations, from any other disrupting of public order and peace, and from endangering human lives and property. It is only under conditions of peace and security for everyone—and on the basis of the assessments, stances, and proposals of the SFRY Presidency, expressed in the SFRY Assembly and the adopted conclusions in connection with this—that the complex resolution of Kosovo's very complex problems can be realized.

Peace and the suppression of all violence in Kosovo is needed by all of us so that our country might continue along the path of reforms, constitutional changes, and general democratization which has been initiated.

Kosovo Committee on Civil War Threat

LD2002174790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1413 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, 20 Feb (TANJUG)—The Committee for Truth About Kosovo judges that the province "faces civil war and the atmosphere is felt throughout the province." It further states that "the endurance and patience of Serbs and Montenegrins and other Yugoslav patriots, who are practically living under siege, is nearing its end."

The Committee for Truth About Kosovo holds that it is necessary that the SFRY Presidency, as the Armed Forces' supreme commander, urgently transfer its headquarters to the province, "where there is almost a state of war," so that, as it is put, it can command "the defense of the country" from there.

"If the SFRY Presidency is unwilling for any reason to carry out its supreme duty, we demand that it transfer its authority to appropriate bodies of the Socialist Republic of Serbia," the statement of the Committee for Truth About Kosovo states.

Slovene SAWP: End State of Emergency

LD2002180390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1517 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 20 Feb (TANJUG)—During their session today, members of the Slovene Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] Republican Conference sent an appeal to the SFRY Presidency, demanding that they discharge their function as supreme representative of all the nations and nationalities in the SFRY, and that they should not give way to the pressures of the politics and

interests of one nation alone. They are asking the Presidency to cancel the state of emergency in Kosovo "which, in the eyes of the world public, is degenerating into a legalized state repression of members of the Albanian nation in Kosovo," as they phrased it.

The Slovene SAWP Republican Conference stated that the SFRY Presidency should immediately appoint an impartial commission to impartially examine all the abuses committed by the authorities, by the police, and by the military in Kosovo, about which the public has already been informed. With its authority, it is believed that it should force everyone unwilling to negotiate to start an immediate dialogue with the legitimate alternative in Kosovo.

With their "statement," the conference members "resolutely protest against the increasingly conspicuous state repression in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, particularly of Albanian ethnic nationals which, they believe, is manifested not only in political trials, torture, and in making it impossible for detainees and prisoners to exercise their basic rights to obtain an adequate defense, but in growing violence against the civilian population—even old people, women, and children. All this is happening when there are no massive rallies of any kind in Kosovo because the organs of state repression break into private dwellings, schools, offices, and enterprises," the statement asserts.

"We are particularly indignant over the fact that while the authorities in Kosovo are constantly referring to a law-governed state, proper defense is denied to the detainees and to the prisoners." Yesterday the lawyers in the trial of Azem Vlasi left the courtroom, explaining that they could not leave their people alone at home because they were afraid for their safety. This happened, continues the statement, "immediately after members of the state organs killed lawyer Adem Voksi's father, which happened in his own house."

Further on Kosovo Situation

LD2002185890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1656 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, 20 Feb (TANJUG)—Albanian demonstrators stoned several shops in Urosevac today. Still, the largest disturbances were recorded on village roads leading to nearby villages. Security forces there with difficulty and by using tear gas prevented the demonstrators from reaching trucks and then "arming" themselves with stones. Schools were completely empty today and the majority of enterprises were closed. Sporadic shooting occurred today because demonstrators were using firearms. Although there is no official information as yet, a number of policemen were injured by stones and tear gas, because the demonstrators today were using this chemical weapon.

Early in the morning, Lepasovic citizens began to mobilize and to sign up as volunteers to go to places in Kosovo where the lives of Serbs and Montenegrins are most in jeopardy.

About 350 students of Albanian nationality from the Braca Ribar secondary school in Istok today walked out of their classrooms to demonstrate at a bus station. They shouted slogans from the repertory of the Albanian separatist movement. Since they did not disperse after police warnings, security forces used tear gas to disperse the demonstrators and detained a number of them.

The assembly of the Osojane municipal community in the Istok municipality at today's extraordinary session, held at the demand of 2,040 Serbs and Montenegrins, formed quarters for possible self- defense from Albanian nationalists and terrorists in five nearby villages. As a result of the heralded bloody shoot-down, night vigils were reintroduced in Osojan, Kos, Saljinovic, Tucep, and Poljan as precautionary measures. If the political and security situation does not improve in the municipality and the province, they announced that this evening they will form a civil defense unit for self-defense. They called on all Serbs and Montenegrins from the Osojane municipal community, who are living in Serbia proper and other parts of the country, to return and take part in the protection of their homes and property. They demanded that the Socialist Republic of Serbia urgently undertake all available measures.

The political and security situation in the Pec municipality is exceptionally critical and uncertain. There, demonstrations of children and women were organized today. Almost 1,000 Albanians gathered at about 1300 in the vicinity of the municipal committee building to, as yesterday, protest over the presence of the combined militia unit. Gatherings were reported in nearby Ljesani and Novo Selo.

In Gnjilane, about 500 Albanians attempted to demonstrate at about 1300, but security forces dispersed them quickly with tear gas. The demonstrators dispersed into side streets and, when they emerged from buildings, stoned several houses belonging to Serbs. At the same time, machine-gun bursts were heard. Violent demonstrations were organized today in Gavran, Popovica, and Cenr Cesma, all parts of Gnjilane. The security forces dispersed them with tear gas on several occasions.

The largest demonstrations in this municipality, attended by more than 1,000 Albanians, were organized today in Zegra village, into which columns of demonstrators from Vladovo, Sadz, and other nearby villages poured.

The extremely tense situation forced Serbs and Montenegrins in Trpeza village, near Kosovska Vitina, to organize themselves and counteract Albanian separatists and terrorists.

Today's action by Albanian separatists is just a continuation of last night's disorders.

Secondary and elementary schools in Gnjilane were not operating today. As a result of the exceptionally tension and grave situation in which Serbs and Montenegrins do not feel safe, the Presidium of the Kosovo Polje 'Bozur' association branch in Gnjilane called 'Stari Zavica' [Old Home] is in permanent session with the aim of organizing members of the two nations in self-defense. Last night night watches were organized in all villages of this municipality. The same will happen tonight and later on until the state bodies establish public order and peace and guarantee the full safety of citizens. The presidium of the branch appealed to all Serbs and Montenegrins of this municipality to remain in their homes and workplaces to avoid attacks and provocations by Albanian nationalists and separatists.

1 Killed in Titova Mitrovica

AU2002182790 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] The political and security situation in the commune of Titova Mitrovica was reported to be critical today. Our correspondent (?Latif Boca) reports:

[Begin (Boca) recording] The first victim fell in Titova Mitrovica. According to official reports, (?Selman Nezir Nevoda), born in 1965 in the village of (?Vlahi), was killed today in [words indistinct] with the militia forces, and [several names indistinct], Xhevit Ahmeti, Petrit Halili, Adriana Vrasi Adil [surname indistinct], Hasan [surname indistinct], and Ajet [surname indistinct], who were taken to the surgical department of the hospital.

However, according to citizens who were at the site of the events, the number of people killed and injured is much larger. Meanwhile, hundreds of people went to the hospital to offer blood for those injured. [passage indistinct] [end recording]

Titova Mitrovica Protest Ends

LD2002184590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1831 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Titova Mitrovica, 20 Feb (TANJUG)—After several hours of rioting by Albanian nationalists and separatists, among whom were students and workers, demonstrations in Titova Mitrovica have ended. In a clash between Albanian nationalists and separatists and security forces in the Tavnik area of Titova Mitrovica, one demonstrator was killed. About 10 people, among them policemen, were wounded. Policemen were injured by stones thrown by very aggressive demonstrators today.

Pristina Students Demand Dialogue

AU2002205090 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] A proclamation issued by the students of Pristina University, which was also released to the press, states among other things:

Our last meeting at the Student Center and the presentation of our demands to the legal provincial organs is a clear testimony that we are ready for a dialogue. The disposition of the president of the provincial government is welcome and must be greeted. However, if the concept of dialogue is meant to be a mere discussion and an opportunity to express demands, without a readiness to compromise, and without a readiness on the part of all legal state authorities to seriously consider our demands, then we rightly fear that all that will happen is that demands will be presented by one side and will be refused by the other.

We, the students of Pristina University, continue to insist on our demands, which are also the demands of all the people. The fact that the state of emergency and the repressive police measures have not proved to be productive can best be shown by the latest victims, the killings, injuries, imprisonment, beatings, and numerous cases of mistreatment.

We want a constructive dialogue within the framework of the local institutions, without a spirit of exclusiveness on either side. We want the authorities to accept a dialogue with the opposition groups, whose legitimacy has been granted to them by the people themselves through their membership in these groups.

We are committed to boycotting lessons and will continue to do so until a real dialogue is established with the opposition. We believe that such a dialogue would contribute to the stabilization of the general situation. This boycott will last until 27 February 1990 at 1000, and if a dialogue does not take place by then we will prolong the boycott of lessons.

The students of Pristina University appeal to all schoolchildren and young people not to express their dissatisfaction through street demonstrations and not to become prey to various provocations that would serve as a pretext for violence, more bloodshed, and reprisals against the innocent population.

20 Feb Situation Reported

AU2002203390

[Editorial Report] Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian at 1800 GMT on 20 February devotes 34 minutes of its extended 61-minute newscast to today's situation in various Kosovo communes.

The first report, monitored with rather poor reception, is from Titova Mitrovica, where one person was reported to have been killed and several more injured.

The announcer then introduces another telephone report, this time from Urosevac, saying that "the situation there is grave." The reporter from Urosevac says that members of the Albanian nationality have been demonstrating throughout the day since 1200. Hundreds of people, the reports states, "paraded through the city's streets, making the 'V' for victory sign, and shouting 'Democracy, Democracy.' Attempts by the militia to

disperse them were met with whistling." The reporter says that after being driven out of the main street, the demonstrators regrouped in some secondary schools, erecting barricades.

In Pec today, according to another report, the situation was "grave." A correspondent says that "almost all working collectives were at a standstill," naming several of them. Similarly, most schools were also not functioning. The workers of a local tannery signed a petition protesting the situation that has been created and "the violence exercised against the Albanian people by militia members." They also protest the labelling of Albanians as "terrorists," "separatists," "monkeys," and "cannibals" by individual speakers at various provincial republican meetings. The reporter says that a local committee has been formed to sponsor "the return of Albanians to Kosovo." Finally, the reporter says that numerous members of the League of Communists (LC) in the city and in villages have resigned their membership. A group of 100-150 Albanians, holding Tito's portrait, assembled in front of the mayor's office, demanding "dialogue." No one came out to speak to the demonstrators, who were later dispersed by the militia.

The next report, from Vucitrn, says that "the situation today was very grave and complicated." Schools were closed and there were demonstrations in the streets. The reporter says that "interethnic relations have been exacerbated and that the insecurity of citizens is becoming increasingly more unbearable." Demonstrations started at about 1200 and were still going on at 1730. The demonstrators were shouting "Freedom, democracy, equality, and Yugoslavia," and were singing an Albanian song entitled "The Oath." The demonstrators gathered in front of the cultural center, but dispersed when the militia arrived, continuing their demonstrations on the city's periphery. The reporter concludes by saying that "helicopters were also used to drop tear gas on the demonstrators." Two members of the militia are reported to have been injured. Meanwhile, most schools were not functioning and there were a number of work stoppages.

In the city of Djakovica, demonstrations began at about 1400. A reporter says that the militia intervened immediately, using tear gas. "The tension," says the reporter, "was also heightened by work stoppages." The reporter also states that one of the complaints made by citizens in this commune is that "the events in the province have not been adequately covered by Pristina television." The reporter goes on to say that a meeting was arranged between the demonstrators and communal leaders, at which a student is reported as saying that "a mistaken policy is being adopted toward the Albanian population, denying them basic rights." The student is also reported as saying: "What we want are free elections, not weapons." A worker from the local metallurgical plant is reported as saying: "We are not for secession, but for equality in our country." The reporter says that the citizens presented numerous complaints about the mistreatment of the "innocent Albanian population" by the militia.

This is followed by another telephone report from Suva Reka, monitored from poor reception, in which the reporter says that "the general situation is rather grave and dramatic." Attempts were made to stage demonstrations in the city's center, but these were prevented by the militia. The demonstrators then regrouped in the city's outskirts. Attempts to disperse them were unsuccessful. The reporter adds that "units of the Yugoslav Army, including tanks, were deployed in the city, while aircraft flew low over the city." Most schools were closed and there have been a number of stoppages. Demands were made by workers for the Army's withdrawal. Official bodies met to review the situation.

"The political and security situation in the commune of Prizren continues to be tense," according to another reporter. There have been demonstrations and none of the schools were functioning. Hundreds of students gathered in the Higher Pedagogical School in silent protest. Gatherings were also held in a number of villages, some of which were dispersed following intervention by the militia. Wreaths were laid on the graves of victims of last year's demonstrations. Members of the Islamic community in Prizren met "to express their indignation at the situation and against the repression." A statement says that "killing and violence of any kind is unacceptable as a method and cannot resolve any problem." The reporter concludes that work in the city proceeded normally, with the exception of two factories.

"The political and security situation in the commune of Kacanik," according to another telephone report, "has been grave and dramatic." The reporter says that all lessons were boycotted by the pupils, who demonstrated throughout the city. The militia arrived at about 1200, the reporter adds, and immediately began to disperse the demonstrators. The reporter adds: "At about 1530, one young man was injured and, after being taken to the local clinic, was then dispatched to Pristina Hospital." The reporter says that this incident angered the citizens and young people of Kacanik, about 1,700 of whom assembled at 1600 in the northern part of the city and, making the "V" for victory sign, began marching toward the center of the city.

Back in the Pristina studio, the announcer says that an attempt to demonstrate was made in the city of Kumanovo, in Macedonia, by several hundred Albanians, who shouted the slogan "Kosovo-Republic" and "Democracy," making the "V" sign. Citizens of Macedonian nationality tried to disperse the demonstrators. Order was restored with the arrival of the militia. The announcer says that "according to unofficial reports, 10 demonstrators were arrested."

Demonstrator Dies in Urosevac

LD2002214390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Vladimir Desnica reports about the latest events in Kosovo:

[Desnica] This evening in Titova Mitrovica, 22-year-old demonstrator Selman Nezira Vojvode died in clashes between the police and demonstrators. [passage omitted]

As we have learned, riots also occurred in Urosevac, where some were injured. According to the Radio Pristina news program in Albanian, a demonstrator who was injured this morning died from wounds in a hospital in Urosevac. [passage omitted]

Police 'Fully Control' Kosovo

LD2002232890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2148 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 20 (TANJUG)—The police fully control the situation in Kosovo, Radmilo Bogdanovic, Republic of Serbia interior secretary, stated today.

At a session of the Serbian parliament Bogdanovic said that in halting ethnic Albanian demonstrations legal means have been used. He said that fire arms are used today only in Urosevac.

Bogdanovic said that in clashes with demonstrators two policemen were wounded. According to reports from Kosovo one demonstrator was killed in clashes with the police.

The situation in Kosovo where ethnic Albanian demonstrations have been going on for almost a month now, was discussed today at a session of the Socialist Alliance leadership in the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia.

Discussions at the two sessions again confirmed differences in stands of the two republics on the situation in the province which is of vital importance for the future of Yugoslavia. On this point alone Serbs and Slovenians agree.

While the Serbian parliament spoke of the full determination to use all means envisaged in a legal state to protect the constitutional order from Albanian separatists, the Slovenians demanded from the Yugoslav State presidency to act as the highest representative of all nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia, and not just one, Serbian.

At the session of the Serbian parliament it was repeated that special measures introduced in the province after separatist demonstrations and a general strike at the beginning of last year must be observed and their violation must not be tolerated. At the same time, the Slovenian Socialist Alliance demanded that the special measures be lifted.

The Slovenians today demanded an appointment of an unprejudiced commission whose members will objectively examine all abuses of politics, police and armed forces in Kosovo. They also demanded an urgent opening of a dialogue with the legitimate Kosovo alternative.

The Slovenians also appealed that Adem Demaqi be released immediately. Demaqi is one of the key figures of the Albanian separatist movement and the most prominent advocate of Kosovo's cessation from Yugoslavia. Demaqi has so far spent 28 years in prison serving separate sentences and is to be released at the end of this year.

Serbs and Montenegrins in the province of Vojvodina today demanded from the highest authorities to be issued weapons in order to protect their fellow countrymen and honest Albanians in Kosovo. They were told that competent organs are taking all necessary steps and that sending volunteer units to Kosovo would not be advisable. Vojvodina defence secretary warned that the Constitution and laws which regulate the question of the protection of the country's integrity do not envisage sending volunteers.

The Vojvodina Presidency today demanded from the Yugoslav state Presidency to put an end immediately to Albanian separatism and terrorism in Kosovo using all means envisaged by the Constitution and the laws of the country.

Armored Vehicles in Kosovo

LD2102102990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0932 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, 21 Feb (TANJUG)—In a large number of settlements in the province—in keeping with the decision of the SFRY Presidency—armored and other units of the Yugoslav People's Army from all Kosovo garrisons were engaged today. The tasks they are carrying out are aimed at protecting the constitutional system and preventing violence.

Otherwise, the situation in Kosovo has been relatively calm but very intense. About a hundred schoolchildren of the Muharem Baktesi Secondary Education Center have been been deomostrating in Vucitrn since this morning.